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CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

FRANCE AND MOROCCO.

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1883-84.

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1883-84.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Correspondence respecting France and Morocco.

No. 1.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received February* 8.)

(No. 7. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tangier, January* 31, 1883.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 142 of the 20th November last year, reporting the aggression committed by the rebel Arab Chiefs of Oolad Cidi Sheikh on Moorish tribes, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that yesterday M. Ordega, in the course of conversation, informed me that considerable apprehension was entertained by the authorities in Algeria that these Chiefs, who have been making preparations on a large scale, and had formed alliances with the powerful Moorish tribes of Beni Guil and Doo Menea, were meditating to bring about a revolution in Morocco and to put forward a pretender to the throne, that the Sultan appeared to have lost all power of control over the tribes in the south-eastern districts of his dominions, and that if a civil war commenced it might lead to serious troubles and conflicts on their own territory; that a large French force of about 40,000 men had therefore been placed near the frontier with orders to prevent any Maroquines entering Algeria, but that this state of affairs was intolerable.

He imparted to me confidentially that he had warned the Sultan through his Minister, Cid Mohammed Bargash, that unless prompt and decided steps were taken, Mulai Hassan is in danger of losing his throne.

Rumours of a similar character have reached me from Morocco. The peasantry in the southern provinces, who have been reduced to the greatest misery by the dearths that have prevailed for the last five years, and by the extortions practised by the Sultan's Ministers, Governors, and Sheikhs, have long been ripe for revolt, but the fanatical veneration entertained for Mulai Hassan, as "God's Caliph," has hitherto sufficed to maintain his authority, and unless another direct Shereefian descendant of the Prophet was put forward as a pretender, I do not expect that he will lose his throne.

The state of affairs in Morocco is very grave. I have repeatedly warned the members of this Government in an officious and friendly manner that the Sultan, his Ministers and Governors were becoming dangerously unpopular, but it is no use giving advice to officials whose sole emoluments proceed from extortion, peculation, and corruption.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 2.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received March* 8.)

(No. 15.)

My Lord *Tangier, March* 1, 1883.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 7 of the 31st January, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that the French Secretary of Legation, M. Montfraix, the Second Secretary, M. Paléologue, and the Dragoman, M. Benchimol, departed yesterday for Mazagan by sea, whence they will proceed to Morocco.

M. Ordega called on me this morning, and in the course of conversation informed me that he had dispatched these members of his Legation to the Moorish Court to warn the Sultan that, unless energetic measures are adopted against Cid Solyman and other Chiefs of Oolad Cidi Sheikh now dwelling in the south-eastern confines of the Empire, His

Majesty may expect to have a general insurrection against his authority on the part of the southern tribes which may bring about his downfall.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 3.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received March 14.)

(No. 16.)

My Lord, *Tangier, March* 4, 1883.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 15 of the 1st instant, I have received information that the Sultan has dispatched an officer named Cid Hamed Bagreetsy to the Governors of the provinces, directing them to assemble the troops under their command, as it is His Majesty's intention to send an expeditionary force against Cid Solyman and other Chiefs of the Oolad Cidi Sheikh.

I am further informed that the Moorish army will be directed to join the French forces who may be dispatched from Algeria against the rebel Chiefs now dwelling in the Sahara.

Though it is satisfactory to learn that the Sultan is disposed to give this proof of his sincere desire to do all in his power to quell the disturbances and *razzias* on the French frontier, it is a question whether the result may not lead to serious disaster, for should His Shereefian Majesty unite his forces with those of France, and act against Cid Solyman and other Chiefs, who are looked upon by the majority of the population as warriors of their faith, Mulai Hassan may lose the prestige he has hitherto enjoyed as "Caliph Allah," upon which hangs entirely the existence of this wretched and disorganized Government, and he will be in danger of losing his throne should any reverse happen to his troops.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 4.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 24. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tangier, March* 31, 1883.

WITH reference to the despatches marked in the margin,* respecting the information I had received regarding the Algerian Chiefs of Oolad Cidi Sheikh dwelling in the south-eastern confines of Morocco, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Ordega has mentioned to me, in the course of conversation, that it is not the intention of the French Government to send an expedition against these Chiefs, nor to require that the Sultan should dispatch an armed force against them. He said that 20,000 French troops guarded the frontier, and had succeeded in preventing *razzias* on the French territory, and that latterly these Chiefs had confined their depredations and aggressions to tribes subject to the Sultan.

M. Ordega showed me an article in the journal "La France" of the 18th instant, from which I copy the following passage:—

"Nous apprenons avec regret que la nomination de M. Féraud comme Ministre Plénipotentiaire au Maroc ne se confirme pas.

"Au moment où l'Espagne et surtout l'Angleterre cherchent à nous causer des embarras dans le Nord d'Afrique, il est nécessaire de démêler les intrigues sourdes, les efforts malveillants; une bonne diplomatie, sans complications ni expéditions, saura rétablir nos avantages, en remettant à leur place des rivaux indiscrets."

M. Ordega said that he believed that the person who had written that article was M. Féraud, the French Consul-General at Tripoli, who aspired to replace him should he (M. Ordega) be moved to another Legation; but that he hoped M. Féraud would not be appointed to the post, as he was a *faiseur d'embarras*.

I replied that with regard to the accusation that the Agents of England were intriguing in Morocco to embarrass French policy, it was only a repetition of the foolish outcry which, ever since the occupation of Algeria, has been raised by journalists or others who could not or would not understand the straightforward honourable policy pursued by the British Government; that, setting aside the importance attached to the maintenance of an

* Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

alliance upon which depended the peace of the world, it ought to be clear to an unprejudiced politician that, as the British Government desires to uphold the integrity of Morocco, on account of its being a neutral State bordering on the Straits of Gibraltar—the channel of commerce to the Mediterranean and to India—and as Morocco is defenceless against the naval and military forces of France, the British Agent who covertly encouraged the Sultan or his Ministers to act in an unfriendly manner towards France would be pursuing a policy which might eventually bring about the question of the very existence of Morocco, which it was the interest and earnest desire of the British Government to avoid; that, as I have repeatedly told him, I had never ceased to counsel the Sultan to do all in his power to meet the reasonable wishes of the French Government.

As to the conduct of the Spanish Government and its Agents, I observed that I could not suppose that they would, for the same reasons, pursue a policy which might eventually bring about a French invasion of this country.

M. Ordega informed me that he daily expected the return of the Secretary of Legation, M. Montfraix, from the Moorish Court, and that he had reason to know the Sultan had taken in good part the counsels which had been offered, and was prepared to act in conformity with the wishes he (M. Ordega) had expressed in a Memorandum which M. Montfraix had been directed to present to His Majesty. Under these circumstances, M. Ordega went on to say, he hoped soon to hear that Cid Solyman and the other Chiefs would be delivered up, and would be removed, like Abd-el-Kader, to some distant place, where they would cease to give trouble.*

M. Ordega said that emissaries had been sent by him to the tribe of Oolad Cidi Sheikh. I replied that I shall be very glad to learn that his hopes had been verified, and this harassing question been got rid of.

I acquainted M. Ordega that I had received tidings from the Court that Mulai Ahmed Bagreetsy, who had been directed to assemble a force to join any French expedition which might be sent against the Chiefs of Oolad Cidi Sheikh, had been recalled.

M. Ordega observed that the Sultan is acting with good faith, and desires to meet his wishes, but that he would not conceal from me his opinion that the authority of the Sultan was crumbling away, and that such a wretched state of affairs as existed in this country would not long be tolerated. "We should be glad," he added, "if you, or some other civilized Power, would take possession of the country, and we should thus have to deal with neighbours on whom we could rely; if not, the day will come when we shall be compelled, by force of circumstances, to take possession of Morocco. Spain," he went on to say, "does not consider that the time has yet arrived when her ambitious aspirations on this side of the Straits can be carried into execution, though the Spanish Government would resent any attempt of another foreign Power to occupy the African coast of the Straits."

To this latter remark I responded that Spain, in such an eventuality, would not be the only Power opposed to the occupation of the African coast of the Straits.

M. Ordega observed that France had no desire to take possession of Morocco, and that his Government had repeatedly made this declaration in the most formal manner, but that, as it was his habit to be outspoken, he would not conceal from me that he had frequently urged his Government to take possession of Figuig, for it had been chiefly from that point that the aggressions of the Moorish tribes on Algeria had been fomented and made. It was an indentation on their frontier which, he said, must be rectified, and sooner or later it would be done, though he admitted that the French Government had refused, in a very decided and pointed manner, to entertain his project.

M. Ordega continued that he did not think any vital British interest could be affected by France holding Figuig, and therefore he did not suppose the British Government or its Representative would oppose the occupation of that small district, where the Sultan's authority was of a doubtful character.

I replied that I concluded the importance he attached to Figuig was to be attributed chiefly to its being on the route of one of the projected lines of railway to Timbuctoo; that there certainly was no direct British interest attached to Figuig, whether it was in possession of France or Morocco; but that was not the question. The fact of France obtaining possession by a pecuniary arrangement, or by other means, of a portion of the Sultan's territory, would raise at once the question of the integrity of the Empire, and open a door to other Powers seeking like concessions on the coast or elsewhere.

I remarked that he had, with considerable reason, stated his opinion that the country was falling to ruin owing to the misgovernment and unpopularity of the Sultan. This

* I infer from what M. Ordega said, and from rumours I have heard, that large sums of money have been distributed among the tribes to bribe them to deliver Cid Solyman dead or alive.—J. H. D. H.

expected dissolution, I added, would be hastened by any cession of territory, for it would be regarded by every Mahommedan as an act of submission to the will of the Christian by His Majesty, who styles himself "Caliph Allah," or God's Vicar. The Sultan's prestige as their spiritual Sovereign would be utterly shaken, and that might lead also to the loss of his temporal authority.

M. Ordega is very communicative, even, I think, to indiscretion, when he gets excited in conversation, but I have deemed it right to place your Lordship in possession of all that passed between us, for I think the views and intentions of French politicians as regards this country are foreshadowed, even if what M. Ordega says is correct, that the French Government have declined to entertain for the present his schemes for rectifying the French frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 5.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 27.)
My Lord, *Tangier, April 5, 1883.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 26 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Ordega has read to me a despatch he had just received from the French Consul at Mogador, reporting the proceedings of Mr. Curtis, and that he had embarked from the coast of Soos on board an English steamer bound to London, accompanied by a son of one of the Chiefs, who, it is supposed, is commissioned to give an assurance to the North African Company that they will be permitted to form a trading settlement on any site on the Soos coast that they think will be adapted for that purpose.

The French Consul mentioned in this despatch that he thought English and Spanish interests would clash, for the Spaniards were working through native agents to thwart the intention of the English to establish themselves on that coast.

I observed to M. Ordega that it would be a mistake to suppose that there can be any question of conflicting opinions between the British and Spanish Governments on such a subject, as the conduct of Curtis or other British subjects in attempting to carry on smuggling transactions in Soos had not received the support of Her Majesty's Government; that, with regard to the action of the Spanish Government, they were perfectly entitled to require the cession of a site for a fishery on that coast, as was stipulated in their Treaty with Morocco.

I told M. Ordega that we had advised the Sultan to open a port or ports in the southern districts of his Empire, as the best mode of satisfying the trading requirements of the inhabitants, and to establish, *de facto* as well as *de jure*, His Shereefian Majesty's sovereignty in that portion of his dominions.

M. Ordega informed me that he had received a letter from Cid Hosein-el-Hashem,* a Shereef venerated by all the tribes of Soos, informing him that he did not acknowledge the authority of the Sultan, that he had heard of the power and wealth of France as a great commercial country, and that, if the French Government would send vessels and open a port on the Soos coast, he (Cid Hosein) would cede the site they might select, and would aid in making it a trading station.

M. Ordega observed, "I shall take no notice of this offer, which is not the first made by this Shereef;" and added, "We have quite enough on our hands with frontier troubles, without creating a coast question."

The son of Cid Hosein-el-Hashem is now with the Sultan, so this Shereef is playing a double game. Other Chiefs of the Soos are also at the Court, and have received their appointments as Governors. Their names are Dahmin-weld-Beyrook, Governor of Wad Noon (this Chief is brother of Beyrook, who aided Mackenzie to form the establishment at Cape Juby); Kaid Tsamantsy, appointed by the Sultan Governor of Baida.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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* Cid Hosein-el-Hashem is a descendant of a Shereefian dynasty which formerly reigned in Morocco.—J. H. D. H.

No. 6.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 18.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 21, 1883.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 24 of the 31st ultimo, reporting a conversation wnich you have had with the French Minister upon the subject of the state of affairs in Morocco, and the relations between that country and France; and I have to state to you that the language held by you on the occasion in question, as reported in your above-mentioned despatch, is approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 7.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14.)

(No. 37.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May 6, 1883.*

A CORRESPONDENT at Morocco informs me that the Sultan has dispatched a force consisting of about 800 Askar and 200 cavalry to the Soos district, on the coast of which the steamer of the North African Company had landed goods in contraband, to chastise the members of the tribe who aided Mr. James Curtis, the agent of the steamer, to disembark and dispose of the cargo. Orders have been given, it is said, to the Commander of the expedition to arrest Mr. Curtis and to send him to Mogador. It is reported that Mr. Curtis had left the coast in the steamer of the North African Company.

It is not improbable also that the Commander of the expedition has received orders, should the site of Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña be fixed upon by the Spanish and Moorish Commissioners, to do all he can to prevent the tribes of the neighbouring districts offering opposition to the Spanish force which may be dispatched to take possession of the site ceded.

A report has reached me that the French Secretary of Legation, M. Montfraix, on his late visit to the Court, had inquired whether the Sultan would be disposed to cede to the French Government a port on the Soos coast, and that His Majesty had refused to entertain such a proposition.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 8.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(No. 48.)
My Lord, *Tangier, June 13, 1883.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 24 of the 31st March, I am informed that the rebel Algerian Chief, Cid Suleyman, and a large number of his followers from the tribe of Oolad Cidi Sheikh, have requested the French Government to allow them to return to Algeria, engaging that they will submit to the authorities and keep the peace.

Cid Suleyman is expected to arrive at Tangier to deliver himself up to the French Minister as guarantee for the future good behaviour of his tribe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 9.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received July 7.)

(No. 57.)
My Lord, *Tangier, June 29, 1883.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 48 of the 13th instant, regarding the rebel Algerian Chief Cid Suleyman, of the Oolad Cidi Sheikh, who was expected to arrive at Tangier to give in his submission to the French Government, I am informed that the

French Minister has received tidings that when Cid Suleyman was passing through the district of the Morocco tribe of Doo Menea, the party was attacked and several of Cid Suleyman's followers were killed, that the former escaped and fled again to the Sahara, refusing to continue his journey, as he apprehended there was a plot to murder him.

I hear that M. Ordega is very irate, and declares that he will render the Sultan responsible. This appears to me unreasonable, for His Majesty has very little power of control over the wild tribe of Doo Menea, and, as frequent *razzias* had been made by Cid Suleyman on this tribe, it is not surprising that, on hearing of his passage through their district, the Doo Menea should have sought to kill or capture him.

It is to be regretted that Cid Suleyman should not have been advised, as he was going to give in his submission to the French, to pass through the Algerian, and not the Moorish territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 10.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received August* 1.)

(No. 65. Confidential.)
Tangier, July 22, 1883.

My Lord,

IN past despatches I have had occasion to mention to your Lordship that my French colleague, M. Ordega, is in the habit of being what he calls extremely frank and outspoken. He is certainly indiscreet and, I fear, not always truthful, or at any rate accurate in his statements. I think it my duty, however, to report to your Lordship the language he held to me shortly before he departed from Tangier on leave of absence.

In the course of conversation M. Ordega introduced the subject of the late proffered submission of the Algerian rebel Chiefs Cid Suleyman and Bou Amama, and read to me passages from a letter he had received from the former.

I congratulated M. Ordega on the success of his negotiations with these Chiefs, and said it did him great credit. I observed that not only the French Government, but also the Sultan, ought to feel much indebted* to him for having succeeded in getting rid of these Chiefs, whose turbulent and lawless acts had given rise, so often, to vexatious and serious questions. I added that, as we sincerely desired the maintenance of friendly relations between France and Morocco, I was sure it would be a source of satisfaction to Her Majesty's Government to learn the submission of these Chiefs.

M. Ordega remarked that the Sultan and his Ministers appeared to be so unfit to govern, and that the country was in such a wretched state, that the maintenance of friendly relations became a very difficult task, and that he saw no remedy for this state of things except that some foreign Power should take possession of Morocco; "then," he added, "with a civilized Government at Fez, we might hope to have our frontier respected." He went on to say that it would be a satisfaction to them if Spain would take possession of Morocco. "If not," he continued, "the time must come when we shall be compelled to annex the country, though we do not at present desire it."

I remarked that I did not see why there should be greater difficulty in finding a *modus vivendi* between France and Morocco now than during the last fifty years; that the conquest of Morocco, from the peculiar position of its sea-board on the Straits, would always raise an international question, and would be opposed by other foreign Powers; that the Spanish Government would act wisely in not entertaining any such proposition as that M. Ordega said it was his wish should be made to them, for their financial resources were not such as to enable them to squander money in the conquest of a country which probably would be wrested from them in the end by some other Power, and perhaps by France itself. "Spain," I said, "has made much progress latterly, and may become, in course of time, the wealthy and powerful nation she was in former years. It will be time enough then for her to think of carrying out ambitious projects on this side of the Straits. Let us," I added, "leave these questions dormant; we can do no good by discussing them."

I learn, very confidentially, from my Spanish colleague, M. Diosdado, that M. Ordega has held language of a similar character to him, but that he had replied much in the same sense as I had done.

* M. Ordega has lately been decorated with the Legion of Honour.—J. H. D. H.

The language of M. Ordega to M. Diosdado and to my Italian colleague regarding Morocco appears to have left on them the impression that the day is not far distant when France may not have her hands so full as at the present time; that she will seek to extend a Protectorate over Morocco as she has done in Tunis.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 11.

Sir R. Morier to Earl Granville.—(*Received August* 2.)

(No. 117. Confidential.)
Madrid, July 28, 1883.

My Lord,

I CANNOT but conjecture that the language reported in Sir John Drummond Hay's despatch No. 65, Confidential, of the 22nd July, as having been used by the French Minister at Tangier, in reference to the desirability of Spain annexing Morocco, may have some connection with the "concessions immenses" which the Minister of State, as reported in my despatch No. 110, Confidential, stated that France was ready to make to secure the alliance of Spain.

If this language has been reported to Madrid from Tangier, it would be quite capable of assuming these proportions in the fervent imagination of the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

No. 12.

Earl Granville to Mr. White.

(No. 37.)
Foreign Office, August 7, 1883.

Sir,

I HAVE received Sir J. D. Hay's despatch No. 65, Confidential, of the 22nd ultimo, reporting a conversation with M. Ordega, the French Minister, on the subject of the relations between France and Morocco, and I have to state to you that the language held by Sir J. D. Hay to M. Ordega is approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 13.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received November* 24.)

(No. 92. Secret.)
Tangier, November 15, 1883.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 65, Confidential, of the 22nd July last, reporting the language held to me by the French Minister, M. Ordega, respecting this country, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that he returned here on the 11th instant, and I have learnt casually that, it is his intention to proceed in the beginning of next month to the Sultan's Court at Mequinez.

My Italian colleague informs me that M. Ordega, shortly before he went on leave, had in the course of conversation told him that, if he returned here, he would become the "Roustan" of Morocco.

M. Ordega is very indiscreet in his language, though, when he makes extraordinary communications to his colleagues, his chief object may be to elicit an expression of their views.

I cannot suppose, especially at the present time, when the hands of the French Government are full in consequence of their ambitious views of colonial aggrandizement, that they should attempt to seek to establish a Protectorate in this country, as they have done in Tunis, and therefore I wish to attribute M. Ordega's ebullitions to indiscretion and vanity; but I have thought it advisable, under present circumstances, to lose no time in letting the Sultan know secretly the language which has been held by M. Ordega, and

in placing His Majesty on his guard against admitting any insidious proposition that seek for or accept a French Protectorate, or the ægis of France in any other form, and that His Majesty should apprise me, secretly and immediately, even if the shadow of such a proposition is made.

I have the honour to transmit the translation of a Secret Memorandum which I have forwarded, sealed, through the Vizir, Cid Mohammed-ben-Elarby, with a request that he deliver it to the Sultan, as I have no confidence either in the intelligence or good faith of that functionary.

I trust your Lordship will find that my language is discreet, and that, far from encouraging any feelings of animosity towards France, I seek to allay the natural irritation which must be felt by the Sultan against M. Ordega, for it is most probable that other persons have divulged his views, which are in the mouths of every one with whom he converses.

Cid Mohammed Bargash has also been put on his guard by me in a late conversation I had with him, and he appeared to comprehend thoroughly my object, and advised me to make it known to the Sultan before M. Ordega proceeds to the Court.

A *fait accompli* is a very difficult matter to deal with; I have thought it advisable, therefore, to try and avoid the risk of a surprise by giving a warning in due time.

During the thirty-eight years that I have held my present post I have regarded my chief duty to be that of a sentinel who watches over the interest Great Britain must have in the maintenance of the freedom of the Straits, the great highway of commerce to the Mediterranean and to India. The decided policy and action of the British Government, both as regards the Dardanelles in 1878 and again as regards the Suez Canal last year, would not, it appears to me, be consistent, if it allows a Power like France to hold the northern coast of Morocco in the Straits, either by annexing this country or by taking it under its ægis, which would, in the end, be equivalent to possession.

I see no prospect, at present, of improvement in the form of government in this country. Counsels are thrown away upon ignorant and corrupt Ministers. Irregular protection is undermining the little authority still possessed by the Sultan and his Bashas, whilst the Representatives of several of the foreign Powers do not appear disposed to pay attention to the feeble and helpless protests against infractions of the Madrid Convention of the Sultan or his Ministers.

As I see no prospect of the improvement of Morocco, I venture to submit whether it might not be politic, when a fitting moment presents itself, that Her Majesty's Government should endeavour to come to an understanding with those Powers who, like Great Britain, have no ambitious views regarding the maintenance of the neutrality of the Straits, and that it be stipulated that no Power be permitted to occupy any part of the coast. If such an arrangement could be made, to the great advantage of the Sultan, there would then be a favourable opportunity for resorting to other language than mere counsels as regards reform in the administration of government, the removal of restriction or high duties on exports, and the abolition of slavery.

If the integrity of Morocco and the independence of its Sovereign are to be upheld by foreign Powers, these people, dwelling within sight of Europe, must be told to move on with civilized nations, or be effaced from the map of the world as a nation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 13.

Memorandum presented by Sir J. Drummond Hay to the Sultan.

(Secret.)

(Translation.)

HIS Shereefian Majesty knows the deep interest I have never ceased to take in the welfare and prosperity of His Majesty's dominions, and of the maintenance of their integrity and of His Majesty's independence. His Shereefian Majesty has had also unceasing proofs, from the counsels I have offered when any question has arisen with a foreign Government or Representative, of the anxious desire both of Her Majesty's Government and of myself, as their Representative, that peaceful relations should be maintained, by His Shereefian Majesty acceding to the just demands or wishes of a foreign Government, and of making concessions, even when the justice of the demands may be of a doubtful character, with the view of avoiding the possibility of a rupture, more especially as His Shereefian Majesty, in his wisdom, is aware that, having no navy, and only a small army,

as contrasted with that of other Powers, His Shereefian Majesty has not the power to resist aggression, especially on the sea-board. Above all, I have never ceased to urge that the most friendly relations should be maintained with France, His Shereefian Majesty's powerful ally and neighbour, who could at any time march an army of 50,000 men with an irresistible artillery across the frontier. Every reasonable concession, not affecting the integrity and independence of this country, should be made, rather than incur the danger of a rupture of relations with that Power. These counsels, as His Shereefian Majesty is aware, I have never ceased to inculcate on the minds of His Majesty's Ministers.

With these premises, I desire to take an early opportunity of putting His Shereefian Majesty on his guard against the acceptance, or even consideration, of any proposition which might possibly be made that His Shereefian Majesty should seek for, or accept, the Protectorate of France, or place himself in any way under the ægis or guidance of that Power.

I have no certain proofs which could be produced that the French Government has the intention of seeking to induce His Majesty to accept their tutelage, but I cannot conceal from His Shereefian Majesty that the French Minister, M. Ordega, makes no secret with his colleagues, and even in his language to myself, that his aim is to bring about the downfall and conquest of Morocco by some foreign Power, or its annexation to Algeria, as has happened at Tunis.

He made a proposition to me that England should take possession of the northern coast of Morocco. He made a similar proposition to the Spanish Minister. I declined to listen to such a scheme, and I am informed the Spanish Minister held similar language, adding that Spain desires the strict maintenance of the integrity of His Majesty's dominions.

I may here observe, in parenthesis, that I have good grounds for believing that it is the anxious and sincere desire of the present Spanish Ministry to uphold the integrity of Morocco, and the independence of His Shereefian Majesty, and that their Representative, M. Diosdado, has proved himself to be a wise and true friend of His Shereefian Majesty. I trust that His Majesty's Ministers will therefore seek to do all in their power to promote friendship and good-will towards Spain, especially in questions affecting their African possessions on the coast. Peace with Spain is essential for the welfare of Morocco.

To return to the subject of the language of M. Ordega. In conversing with one of his colleagues upon this subject, he said, "If I return to Tangier, I shall be, sooner or later, when the fitting time comes, the 'Roustan' of Morocco." Roustan, as His Shereefian Majesty no doubt recollects, was the Agent of the French Government at Tunis who brought about the Protectorate established by France over that Regency.

The language held by M. Ordega may be, and probably is, unauthorized by his Government. He is very indiscreet in his communications; but what I have heard suffices for me, as a sincere friend, to put His Shereefian Majesty on his guard. I wish, however, in secretly imparting the above information, to beg that His Shereefian Majesty should, neither in word nor deed, show any feeling of irritation or resentment towards M. Ordega, so long as he is the Representative of France, nor allude to the information I have imparted, unless he is the first to introduce the subject.

I hear accidentally that it is M. Ordega's intention to visit His Shereefian Majesty's Court this autumn, and it is supposed that frontier questions are to be the chief subject of discussion.

His Shereefian Majesty may wish to know in what form I think it possible that some proposal or insinuation may be made that His Shereefian Majesty should admit or seek the Protectorate of France. It occurs to me that language of the following tenour might be held:—

In the late questions with the Italian and United States' Representatives His Shereefian Majesty must have felt considerable pain, if not humiliation, in being compelled to submit to peremptory demands made under menace, and which may not have been considered just or in accordance with Treaty rights. In questions with other countries the policy and necessity of acceding to demands, right or wrong, when pressed, must frequently be felt by His Shereefian Majesty, as also when the stipulations of the Madrid Convention are infringed with impunity, for His Shereefian Majesty has not the power to resist with success acts of aggression of foreign Powers; but if His Shereefian Majesty will propose to place himself under the guidance of the French Government in all questions with foreign Powers, and to declare openly that he voluntarily seeks for their protection, France would then accept the task of vigilating that no unjust demand is imposed upon His Shereefian Majesty; but under these circumstances, it would probably be intimated, a French Minister or Counsellor should reside permanently at the Moorish Court to advise and guide His Shereefian Majesty.

With the view of inducing His Shereefian Majesty to accept such an insidious proposition, it may also be intimated that, as rebellious risings frequently take place in His Shereefian Majesty's dominions against His Majesty's authority, France will be prepared, when her aid or co-operation is sought for, to establish His Shereefian Majesty's authority.

I wish distinctly to repeat that I have no grounds for accusing the French Government of a desire to assume a Protectorate over or to annex Morocco, further than the language of their own Minister; but should such propositions as I have described, or even the shadow of them, be put forward, let His Shereefian Majesty ask for it in writing, and send me a copy by express. Whilst awaiting my reply and reference to Her Majesty's Government, let nothing be said or done which could afford the slightest ground for supposing a Protectorate in any form would be accepted.

The French Government has its hands full just now, and is at war, or on the brink of war, with China, Madagascar, and Congo, on account of her territorial ambition and projects of establishing Colonies, where the native authorities of the said countries are alleged at some time or other to have committed themselves by accepting the Protectorate or the ægis of France.

It is the desire of Her Majesty's Government—it is the desire of the Spanish Government—it is the desire of some of the other foreign Governments, that the integrity of His Shereefian Majesty's dominions should be preserved, and His Shereefian Majesty's independence be maintained. His Shereefian Majesty must not, therefore, take undue alarm at the warning I have ventured to give. Let His Shereefian Majesty continue to follow a peaceful and conciliatory policy with France and all foreign Powers; let His Shereefian Majesty take more decided and more energetic steps than he has hitherto done to introduce reforms and to improve his finances by the removal of restrictions on trade, on which subject I have addressed another Memorandum for the consideration of His Shereefian Majesty.*

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Tangier, November 13, 1883.

No. 14.

Sir R. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 175. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Madrid, November* 20, 1883.

KNOWING how entirely Señor Ruiz Gomez is of one mind with Her Majesty's Government in reference to the policy to be pursued respecting Morocco, I had no hesitation in reading to his Excellency extracts from Sir John Drummond Hay's despatch No. 92, Secret, of the 15th instant, which, having been addressed to me under flying seal, I have now the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship.†

His Excellency, who expressed warm appreciation of Sir John Drummond Hay's views, could not contain his irritation at the way France was going on. It would suffice, he said, that the least inkling should ooze out into the Spanish public of M. Ordega's language, and that the idea should get abroad that France was preparing to operate *à la Roustan* in Morocco, to throw Spain bodily into the arms of Germany. Every portion of the Spanish people would, at the prospect of French intervention in Morocco, take fire with that fierce blazing which is the *revers de la médaille* to Spanish inertness and care-nothingness, and every party equally, to the most violent Radicals and Republicans, would rush for aid and assistance to the great German Colossus.

He (Señor Ruiz Gomez) was doing all he could to place the relations of Spain with France on a good footing, and to withstand the dangerous temptations held out from Berlin, and France seemed bent on doing all she could to render his efforts futile.

Talking on the subject of Morocco, I thought the opportunity a good one to elicit an opinion on the idea thrown out by Sir John Drummond Hay of an Agreement by which no Power should be permitted to occupy any part of the coast of Morocco.

I said that there were three Powers who in public estimation were supposed to have made up their minds at one time or other to annex Morocco, viz., France, Spain, and Great Britain. His Excellency knew right well that this was an idea that had never

* I sent by the same courier a Memorandum to be presented to the Sultan requesting that the prohibition on the exportation of wheat and barley be taken off, as there is an abundant harvest this year. See my despatch No. 14, Commercial, of November 15, 1883.—J. H. D. H.

† No. 13.

crossed the mind of any British statesman, and that what we wanted was the continuance of the Moorish Empire, and the liberty, peace, and quiet of the mouth of the Mediterranean. His Excellency, I knew, was equally of opinion that Spain should abstain from all attempts at territorial acquisition on the other side of the Straits. France, on the other hand, made no secret of her wishes.

Should Spain and Great Britain, therefore, take up the idea suggested, they would have the appearance of proposing a Self-denying Ordinance, which would carry great weight as against a Power whose bad conscience on the subject might render it difficult for her to refuse her adherence.

I only suggested the idea as my own, and one of the academical kind, but his excellency was at once taken by it, and said, "elle mérite au moins d'être très sérieusement mise à l'étude."

I was very glad to see that his Excellency, who had only lately had time to work through the correspondence from Señor Diosdado, observed that he had gathered from it the highest opinion possible of that Minister, whose views entirely agreed with his own.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

No. 15.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 50. Secret.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 7, 1883.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 92, Secret, of the 15th ultimo, upon the subject of the relations between Morocco and France, and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the judicious advice which you have tendered to the Sultan in the Secret Memorandum, copy of which is inclosed in your aforesaid despatch.

I have also read with much interest and attention your suggestions respecting the neutralization of the Straits of Gibraltar, and the adoption by the Powers of a Self-denying Ordinance against the occupation of any part of the coast of Morocco.

Her Majesty's Government doubt, however, whether at the present moment it would be prudent to take any steps in so delicate a matter. But they will bear your observations in mind, and they have full confidence that you will continue to watch with attention M. Ordega's proceedings.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 16.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 1185. Secret.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 7, 1883.

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, copies of correspondence, as marked in the margin,* with Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier upon the subject of French policy in Morocco.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 17.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 95. Secret.)

My Lord, *Tangier, December* 12, 1883.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 92, Secret, of the 15th November, I have the honour to transmit a translation of an extract from a letter addressed to me by the Vizir Moukhtar by order of the Sultan, informing me that the Secret Memorandum I had trans-

* Nos. 13 and 15.

mitted to His Shereefian Majesty on the subject of his relations with France had been received.

It is evident from the vague reply of the Vizir that the Sultan had thought it advisable not to impart to his Chief Minister the contents of my Memorandum.

I have not as yet heard of any preparations being made by M. Ordega to visit the Moorish Court, though he had confidentially informed Cid Mohammed Bargash that it was his intention to proceed there this autumn.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Letter addressed by the Vizir to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

Extract.)*
(Translation.)
(After compliments.) 30 *Moharrem*, 1301 (*December* 1, 1883).

WE have received your letter inclosing a secret communication addressed to our lord the Sultan, and also a Memorandum on the subject of the exportation of wheat and barley.

With regard to the former communication, we delivered it to our Lord, and His Majesty was pleased with it, and approved all that you indicated for his information, and he prayed God for your welfare, and ordered me to say that it had reached him in safety, and will be attended to with consideration.

This, His Majesty said, will suffice to you as his reply.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN ALARBY BEN AL MOKHTAR.

No. 18.

Sir R. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received December 25.)

No. 193. Secret and Confidential.)
My Lord, *Madrid, December* 21, 1883.

WITH reference to my last preceding despatch, I have the honour to state that I had this day an opportunity of speaking to Señor Ruiz Gomez on Moorish affairs, and that I asked his Excellency whether he had received any fresh news from Señor Diosdado. He said he had not, and added, with reference to that Agent's last communication, that he had written to him to put water into his wine, and not be too much *impressionné* by the doings of his French colleague, but to watch them carefully and report thereon to his Government. I inferred from what fell from his Excellency that Señor Diosdado's report must have been far less reserved, and more outspoken, than that of Sir John Drummond Hay.

His Excellency then repeated what he had said to me on the last occasion we had spoken together on the subject, as reported in my despatch No. 175, Confidential, of the 20th November, to the effect that any offensive action by France in Morocco would have as its immediate and necessary consequence the throwing of Spain into the arms of Germany, and on the present occasion he particularly requested me to inform your Lordship of what he had said.

I confess that this repetition of the same declaration, and his Excellency's insistance on it, showing that on the former occasion they were not mere words, casually uttered, have somewhat preoccupied me, as showing what appears to me such a total misconception of the relations which Germany may be wishing to establish with Spain. For nothing, I should think, could be further from Prince Bismarck's thoughts than the sending at the beck and call of Spain of a Prussian army to Morocco to oppose a French invasion, and I cannot but regard this as one of the unfortunate results of the Crown Prince's visit, and of the policy of publicly advertising anti-French alliances, even where they do not exist, which gave rise to the visit. The Spaniards have no idea of binding themselves to be on the side of Germany should a war break out. But they have got to believe that their alliance is indispensable, and that in any difficulty they have only to hold up a little finger and therewith to call forth the German legions to their assistance.

I have been struck all the more by these utterances, because of Señor Ruiz Gomez's

* For remainder of this letter, see inclosure in despatch No. 16, Commercial, of December 12, 1883.

extreme desire to keep clear of entangling alliances, and of his genuine wish to do all he can to stand well with France, and my conviction, therefore, is that on both occasions he was giving utterance rather to the collective opinion of the Cabinet, thus bearing unconscious witness to the prevailing state of the Ministerial atmosphere on the subject, than expressing his own deliberately formed views.

I asked the Minister of State whether he had in any way referred in his conversations with the French Ambassador or in his instructions to the Duke de la Torre to the reports from Señor Diosdado. His Excellency replied that unfortunately his relations with the French Ambassador were of a kind which rendered any profitable conversation with him impossible. The lamentable events at Irun, Baron des Michels' attitude of malevolent chicanery, which absorbed his entire activity in the raising of questions of etiquette and procedure, made it impossible for him to converse with his Excellency on those confidential and intimate terms which were indispensable to the cultivation of friendly relations. But Señor Ruiz Gomez added that he should not think of making serious remonstrances to France in connection with Morocco, without previous consultation with Her Majesty's Government.

I should, in conclusion, add, with reference to what Señor Ruiz Gomez said relative to Baron des Michels, that his Excellency gave me very clearly to understand that the continuance of that personage as French Ambassador here would render the renewal of friendly relations with France impossible, and, in view of the strong public feeling which his conduct at Irun had elicited, might any day bring about a catastrophe. He allowed me not less clearly to perceive that he would consider it a friendly act, both towards France and Spain, if your Lordship would find a confidential opportunity to point out to the French Government how indispensable it would be to have an Ambassador here who would be better calculated than Baron des Michels to cultivate good relations between the two countries.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

No. 19.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received January 3, 1884.)

(No. 96. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, December* 27, 1883.

WITH reference to the subject of my despatch No. 92, Secret, of the 15th ultimo, and to your Lordship's despatch No. 50 of the 7th instant, M. Diosdado informed me this morning that M. Ordega had mentioned to him in the course of conversation, a few days ago, that he had been directed by M. Ferry to pursue the same line of policy as that which was pursued by Spain for the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Morocco!

M. Diosdado observed to me that he did not believe M. Ordega was speaking the truth, as it is in direct contradiction of his past language.

I remarked that France had her hands full, and that M. Ferry was no doubt a more prudent Minister than his predecessors, and may therefore have given M. Ordega late instructions to avoid giving umbrage to the Spanish Government or their Representative. It is just possible also that something may have transpired which has led the French Government to alter, temporarily at any rate, their views regarding this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 20.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 23. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 9, 1884.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 1185, Secret, of the 7th ultimo, I transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a further despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, relative to France and Morocco.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* No. 19.

No. 21.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received January* 24.)

(No. 5.)

Tangier, January 17, 1884.

My Lord,

A FRENCH citizen, named Count de Chavagnac, left Tangier on the 13th instant in the British steamer "Jackal" for Peñon de la Gomera, a Spanish garrison on the coast of Reef.* Count de Chavagnac was accompanied by a Reefian, named Hadj Mohammed Khamleesh, brother of Hadj Hamoo Khamleesh, a Chieftain of the Lamarty tribe. This latter person had been imprisoned by the Sultan at Fez for two years, on account of turbulent conduct, and Count de Chavagnac, on a visit to that capital in November last, obtained his release from the Governor of Fez.

When I was at the Court in 1882, a Petition was addressed to Lady Drummond Hay on behalf of said prisoner, and, at her intercession, the Sultan promised that he would release the Reefian Chieftain on his arrival at Fez; but finding on my return to Tangier from my late visit to England, that the Khamleeshes had sought French protection, and that Hadj Mohammed Khamleesh had been appointed semsar, or broker, of Count de Chavagnac, I withdrew from further interference. I will not trouble your Lordship with a report of a question that has arisen with the French Legation on account of my past action regarding the prisoner Hadj Hamoo Khamleesh, it not being of much consequence or bearing upon what I now have the honour to relate.

In the mountains of the Reef tribe of Urriagol,† auriferous quartz and also silver veins are known to exist. The Khamleeshes communicated this discovery to Count de Chavagnac, and at his request, several loads of these minerals were brought to Tangier. These, it would appear, were taken to Paris by Count de Chavagnac and Khamleesh, and it is alleged that the gold ore proved to be of the greatest value. Count de Chavagnac, it is said, made this known to the French Government, and orders were sent to M. Ordega to place Hadj Mohammed Khamleesh under protection as the semsar, or broker, of Count de Chavagnac. The latter, it is said, entered into an arrangement, through the Khamleeshes, with a Reefian Chief named Haj Aly, who is Governor or Sheikh of part of Urriagol, for the purchase of the district where the auriferous mineral is found; this person came to Tangier at the end of last month to effect the sale of the land, and it was decided that Count de Chavagnac, accompanied by Hadj Mohammed Khamleesh, should proceed to the Reef to work the mines, and that he would be received on the coast near Peñon de la Gomera by a body of armed Reefians, who would escort him to Urriagol.

On obtaining information regarding the intention of Count de Chavagnac, I called upon Cid Mohammed Bargash, and made known to him my apprehensions that very serious questions might be brought about if this Frenchman entered the wild country of the Reef, where the Sultan's authority is of a very vague character, and I suggested that he should lose no time in making known to M. Ordega that, if Count de Chavagnac proceeded to the Reef without the authority of the Sultan, and without an escort provided by the Government, as required by Treaty stipulations, he eschewed, in the name of the Sultan, all responsibility for loss of life or property. I submitted to his Excellency another point which I considered required the Sultan's serious consideration, viz., if the Urriagol Mountains contain, as it is alleged, these valuable minerals, which, it would appear, have drawn the attention of the French Government, whether it might not hereafter lead to a desire on the part of the French to annex the Reef, or a portion of it, whenever a pretext presented itself, and such a pretext, I added, could always be found. I requested Cid Mohammed Bargash to keep my language secret from the French, but to make it known to the Sultan.

Cid Mohammed Bargash called on the following day on M. Ordega, and protested against the visit of Count de Chavagnac to the Reef, but it appears that M. Ordega replied that he could not prevent a French citizen from going where he pleased, and he requested that an escort should be provided for the Count. This request Cid Mohammed Bargash declined to accede to, as great danger would be incurred by a Christian penetrating into the Reef country.

In the meantime, the Sultan had also received tidings of Count de Chavagnac's intention, and steps appear to have been taken by His Majesty to check his entry into Reef. A person who was on board the "Jackal" with the Count, says that no Reefians had assembled to receive him on the coast before reaching Peñon de la Gomera, and that, on landing at the Spanish garrison, the Governor offered hospitality to the Count,

* Lat. 35° 10′ N., long. 4° 10′ W.

† Lat. 35° N., long. 3° 40′ W., near Spanish garrisonof Alhuçemas.

but said he could not assist him to proceed into the interior. A Moorish officer at Peñon declined to take any steps to facilitate the passage of Count de Chavagnac's baggage, warning him that the Moorish Government would not be responsible if it was pillaged on entering the Reef.

It is further reported that some armed Reefians assembled on the mainland opposite Peñon, and declared that they would not allow the Count to pass, unless he was the bearer of a letter from the Sultan authorizing his entry into the Reef.

Rumours are rife also that some fighting had taken place in the Urriagol district about these minerals, and that four men had been killed; also that the inhabitants of the Lamarty district, where the Khamleeshes reside, informed the family of the Chief Hadj Hamoo Khamleesh that if any Christians entered the Reef, and brought trouble into their country, they would destroy their houses and property.

As Count de Chavagnac's proceedings, whether he succeeds in penetrating into the Reef, or is prevented doing so, may produce untoward questions between the French and Moorish Governments, I have thought it my duty to report all that I have heard on this subject up to the present time.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 22.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received January* 28.)

(No. 6. Confidential.)

Tangier, January 20, 1884.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 5 of the 17th instant, reporting that the French citizen, Count de Chavagnac, had proceeded by sea to the Spanish garrison of Peñon de la Gomera, with the intention of going thence overland to the district of Urriagol, in the Reef country, where he had purchased land in which, it is alleged, auriferous quartz of great value is found in large quantities, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Cid Mohammed Bargash has imparted to me confidentially, that he had addressed a letter to M. Ordega, before the departure of the Count, protesting against his going into the Reef country, where the Sultan's power of control over the inhabitants is of a very slender character, and where there would be little or no security for the lives or property of Europeans.

To this letter Cid Mohammed Bargash received a reply from M. Ordega, insisting that his Excellency should furnish Count de Chavagnac with letters of recommendation to the Chiefs in Reef and with an escort, adding that he would hold the Moorish Government responsible for the safety of Count de Chavagnac. M. Ordega quoted the Article of the Treaty where it is stipulated that foreign subjects shall have the right to travel and reside in territories of the Sultan,* and stated that if the Moorish Government refused to adhere to the strict wording of this Article, it would be equivalent to an admission that the Reef country is not within the dominions of the Sultan.

Cid Mohammed Bargash informed me that, on receiving this reply, he called in person on M. Ordega, and explained that there are many parts of the Sultan's dominions, such as the Reef, the Atlas Mountains, the Zaïr district, and the interior of Soos, where the lives of Europeans would be placed in the greatest jeopardy if they were allowed to travel in them; that if permission was granted to Count de Chavagnac to travel in the Reef, where it was probable he would lose his life, Englishmen and other foreigners would demand the right also of travelling there, and in other districts of Morocco, where the Sultan had little or no power of control over his wild subjects, that most serious questions might consequently be produced with foreign Governments on account of the murder, robbery, or other outrage committed on foreign travellers, and that he therefore absolutely refused to accede to M. Ordega's request that he should provide an escort for the Count, or give him letters of recommendation to the Chiefs in Reef. Cid Mohammed Bargash further told M. Ordega that he considered the Reefian inhabitants near Peñon were justified in having refused to allow Count de Chavagnac to proceed to Urriagol.

There the matter rests, but a reference has, I believe, been made to the Sultan.

Cid Mohammed Bargash repeatedly begged me not to divulge that he had made known the language held by Mr Ordega.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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* "Subject to the precautions of police."—J. H. D. H.

No. 23.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received January 29.)

(No. 7. Secret.)

My Lord, *Tangier, January* 21, 1884.

HAVING seen a report in the public journals that the Shereef of Wazan, Hadj Abdesselam, had lately obtained letters of naturalization as a French citizen, and having met the Shereef yesterday at a hunting party, I inquired whether there was any truth in the report. He said it was perfectly true. On my expressing surprise that, in his exalted position in this country as a spiritual chief, venerated not only by the population of Morocco but by the inhabitants of Algeria, he should have sought the protection of a foreign Government, he replied that the Sultan, Muley Hassan, and his officers did not show that consideration which was due to him and to his dependants, and which the late and former Sultans had shown to himself and his ancestors. He said that he had rendered important services to the Sultan in quelling rebellions by acting as mediator, for which services he had not even received His Majesty's thanks.

On my remarking to the Shereef that I apprehended that in his position of Chief of the powerful sect of Cid Taibi, and a Shereef of direct descent from their Prophet, he would lose caste in the eyes of the Mahommedans by his present anomalous position, he replied that no one would blame him except officials, for such, he added, is the state of misgovernment and injustice throughout the country that the population in general are disposed to seek the protection of foreign Ministers or Consuls, and that if the French were to invade Morocco they would meet with little or no resistance.

I observed that it appeared to me his conduct was unpatriotic, and that he had set a very dangerous example to his co-religionists, which might lead to revolution and bring about the downfall of all government in Morocco.

This morning I called on Cid Mohammed Bargash, and communicated to him the language held to me by the Shereef. His Excellency informed me, on promise of secrecy, that a letter had been addressed to him by M. Ordega, making known that he had received instructions from Paris to inform the Sultan that the Shereef Hadj Abdesselam had been taken under French protection on account of services he had rendered to France in frontier questions with the tribes of Morocco, and that, in accordance with the stipulation in Article XVI of the Madrid Convention, they had the right of extending protection to the Shereef or other Moorish subjects who may have rendered any important service to France.

Cid Mohammed Bargash informed me that he called upon the French Minister and pointed out the very bad effect which would be produced throughout Morocco by this act of the French Government, and added he was persuaded that the Sultan would never consent to acknowledge the Shereef of Wazan as being under the protection of France or of any other foreign Power.

M. Ordega replied that, whether the Sultan consented or not, the French Government would not recede from their decision, and he intimated in ambiguous language that a refusal might ultimately lead to a rupture of relations. M. Ordega insisted on Cid Mohammed Bargash replying to his letter at once, adding that the decision of the French Government was based upon Treaty, and therefore no question regarding their right would be admitted.

Cid Mohammed Bargash informed me that he was hesitating as to the course he should adopt. If, he said, the Sultan replies, as he is sure to do, that he cannot acknowledge the right of the French Government to protect the Shereef of Wazan, it might give rise to a tension of relations, or even to an ultimatum; he therefore thought it would be better that he should reply to M. Ordega in the same language as he had held to him; but at the same time to say that, if the demand of the French Government was based upon Treaty right, he was not prepared to take the very serious step of refusing to admit that which was ceded by Treaty.

Cid Mohammed Bargash said he felt himself in such an embarrassing position that he was much disposed to send in his resignation to the Sultan, but he feared that it would never be admitted. He told me that he felt the worst apprehensions regarding the continuance of peaceful relations with France, and said that he feared that there was some ulterior object lurking in the mind of the French Government, though M. Ordega had lately assured him he desired to uphold the independence of the Sultan and integrity of his dominions.

I observed I could not suppose that the French Government, whose hands were just now full in the East, would seek to find a Kroumir tribe, or like pretext, in Morocco;

but that both the Sultan and his Ministers must be on their guard against giving any just ground, or even plausible pretext, for a quarrel, and that concession in questions which were not of vital importance, and which did not affect the Sultan's independence or the integrity of his dominions, had better be granted.

With reference to the language of the Shereef, and to his anomalous position as a French-protected citizen, I am inclined to think there has been some secret understanding between him and the French Government, or their Representative, as to the future, in case of revolution or other event which might bring about the downfall of the Sultan. The Shereef Hadj Abdesselam is of Royal descent, and a distant relative of the Sultan. Hopes may have been held out to him that his pretensions to the throne under certain contingencies would be supported by France. Notwithstanding the Shereef's opinion that his acceptance of French protection will not injure him in the eyes of the Mahommedans of Morocco, I believe he has lost, and will lose, much of his prestige thereby, but that some secret intrigue has been at work I have little doubt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 24.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 1.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 31, 1884.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 5 of the 17th instant, upon the subject of the proceedings of the Comte de Chavagnac, a French subject, and his projected visit to the Reef country, and I have to state to you that your action in the matter, as reported in your above-mentioned despatch, is approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 25.

Memorandum by Mr. Villiers.

IN April last M. Bertrand, the French Consul at Mogador, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Ginsberg, M. Zerbib, "censal-interprète" to the French Consulate, and others, camped out in the neighbourhood of a property the possession of which was in dispute between M. Zerbib and Mr. Ratto, a British subject.

An insignificant local disturbance having arisen on the evening of M. Bertrand's arrival, M. Zerbib, with others, came out of camp and arrested two servants employed by M. Ratto, on the charge of breaking into the French camp for the purpose of robbery. These two men, both cripples, had been working in Mr. Ratto's fields, had taken no part in the disturbance, and bore good characters. They were, however, beaten, abused in the French camp, and the next morning sent into the town of Mogador, where, on the demand of M. Bertrand, they were thrown into prison by the Governor.

No notice of the arrest of these men was given to Mr. Payton, Her Majesty's Consul at Mogador, as should have been done under Article IX of the Madrid Convention, but the circumstances having come to his knowledge, he addressed a friendly remonstrance on the subject to his French colleague.

In the correspondence which ensued Mr. Payton's language was consistently moderate and courteous, but M. Bertrand adopted a tone little conducive to the maintenance of friendly relations between the British and French Consulates, and made grave aspersions on the character of Mr. Ratto. Finally, M. Bertrand declared: "Que tant que je n'aurai pas la réparation à laquelle je crois avoir droit, aucune suite ne sera plus donnée jusqu'à nouvel ordre, aux réclamations Anglaises qui seront présentées au Consulat de France à Mogador."

The original accusation against Mr. Ratto's servants was, as mentioned before, an attempt to rob the French camp, but it was subsequently understood from the French Minister at Tangier that the proceedings of the French Consul were chiefly based upon the alleged fact of Mr. Ratto and his people having trespassed upon land belonging to a person under French protection, and having refused to give it up.

It appears that M. Bertrand was desirous of supporting the claim of M. Zerbib to the property in question, as, on the day after the occurrence above related, he requested Mr. Payton's "bienveillant intérêt sur une réclamation que M. Zerbib vous présentera;"

to which Her Majesty's Consul very properly replied that he considered the dispute was entirely one for settlement by the local Tribunals. But up to the present time no steps whatever have been taken by M. Zerbib to make good his claim, and Mr. Ratto, who has for a long time been in occupation, with the full consent of the Governor of the district, remains in undisputed tenancy.

Full details of the incident were transmitted to Her Majesty's Embassy at Paris, and representations in the matter were addressed to the French Government, with the result that the French Consular Court at Mogador was reopened to British suitors.

Also, at the written request of M. Bertrand, Mr. Ratto's servants have been released after an imprisonment of over six months, but without ever having been brought to trial, or any communication having been made to the British Consulate.

The circumstances, however, connected with the whole affair have been of public notoriety in and around Mogador, and Her Majesty's Consul feels that his official position has been impaired in the eyes of the Moorish authorities and people, and of his colleagues, by the attitude which M. Bertrand adopted; while Mr. Ratto, for whose respectability Mr. Payton vouches, considers himself entitled to some "amende" for the manner in which his character has been assailed.

Mr. Ratto has, moreover, preferred a claim to compensation as due not only to his servants but also to himself for the loss of their services and the supply of food to them while in prison. Good grounds exist for such a claim from the hardship inflicted on the men by their protracted imprisonment, and the fact that no specific charge was ever brought forward against them; the accusation of their intending to rob the French camp not having been persevered with, and that of trespass resting solely on the assumption, which has not been upheld, that M. Zerbib was the rightful possessor of the property. The men, however, having been imprisoned at the demand of the French Consul, application for compensation cannot justly be made to the Moorish Government, and it rests, therefore, with the French Government to decide whether they can take the claim into favourable consideration, and award such a sum to Mr. Ratto and his servants as would meet the requirements of the case.

It may be mentioned that Mr. Ginsberg, who has been taken under French protection, is a well-known character, from whom British protection was withdrawn on account of the complaints made against him by the Moorish authorities.

At Saffi, in December last, M. Allard, the French Consular Agent at that port, attempted to arrest the Governor of the town, an aged man who holds a high position at the Shereefian Court, and publicly insulted him, calling him "a son of a dog," because his demands in regard to a pending case were not complied with.

Had not the Governor acted with extreme prudence, an uproar would have ensued, much indignation being manifested at the treatment which he had received. As it was, these proceedings caused great excitement amongst the natives, and also amongst the European community, who considered M. Allard's conduct as very imprudent, and as placing them in great jeopardy.

Satisfaction was promptly given in this case, for, on the facts being brought to the notice of the French Minister at Tangier, he took immediate steps for the dismissal of M. Allard.

In the early part of last year, at Tangier, M. B. Constant, a French artist, was passing the house of Mr. Abensur, the British Interpreter, and finding the street blocked by donkeys, struck the servant of the Interpreter, who was standing at his master's door, because he did not instantly clear the road, although he had nothing to do with the obstruction.

Subsequently, M. Montfraix, the French Secretary of Legation, accompanied by M. Bertrand, the Chancellier, entered the domicile of the British Interpreter with the avowed intention of chastising the servant. Mr. Abensur was not at home, and the servant did not appear.

No complaint was made to the British Legation, as M. Montfraix afterwards apologized, and said he hoped the matter would be dropped.

In the month of July last the cavass of Her Majesty's Consul at Tangier, who has been for thirty years in the British service, was met by three French military officers then recently appointed by the French Government to serve in the Sultan's army, by one of whom he was struck for no reason whatever.

Her Majesty's Consul, who was at that moment in charge of the British Legation, wrote to the French Chancellier, M. Bertrand, requesting that satisfaction should be given.

An inquiry was promised, but, in spite of repeated applications, ten weeks elapsed before the result was made known. Her Majesty's Consul was then informed that the

French officers did not remember having struck any one, and that if they did it was no doubt with good reason.

In the course of December last M. Montfraix, with M. Simon, Attaché to the French Legation, and M. Bertrand, the Chancellier, were walking in the garden of the British Minister's son-in-law, who was then absent in England, and M. Simon commenced shooting plover. The Moor in charge of the property, a very respectable man, having observed this from the top of a tower, warned the party that shooting birds on the premises was not permitted. Thereupon M. Montfraix used abusive language, threatened to chastise the Moor, and attempted with M. Simon to force his way into the tower. The door of the tower was, however, locked, and so no assault was committed.

The Moor laid a complaint before the British Legation, but Her Majesty's Minister, being personally acquainted with M. Montfraix, avoided taking up the matter in a formal manner, and wrote privately requesting that he would abstain for the future from shooting in his son-in-law's garden, and that, if he had cause for complaint against any one under British protection, he would present his complaint through the proper channel, and not attempt to take the law into his own hands.

Her Majesty's Minister further thought it right to inform M. Montfraix that all persons under British protection, of whatever creed, had been advised that if any one, even a foreign official, struck them, they were at full liberty to defend themselves.

These latter incidents, though of a comparatively trivial nature, have been reported to Her Majesty's Government, from the fear that if such proceedings should continue some untoward question may possibly arise and lead to serious consequences.

Foreign Office, February 1, 1884.

No. 26.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received February* 2.)

(No. 8. Secret.)

Tangier, January 25, 1884.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 5 and 6 of the 17th and 20th instant, reporting that the French citizen, Count de Chavaignac, had gone by sea to the Spanish fortress of 'Peñon de la Gomera, with the intention of proceeding to the district of Urriagol in the Reef country to work a gold mine, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Secretary of Cid Mohammed Bargash called upon me this evening, and read to me in secrecy, by his Excellency's order, copies of a letter addressed by Cid Mohammed Bargash to M. Ordega, and of the reply of the latter, received this forenoon.

The letter of Cid Mohammed Bargash was in answer to one he had received from M. Ordega communicating to him, as I understand, a protest, on account of Count de Chavaignac having been prevented continuing his journey, and not having been furnished with letters to the Chiefs of Reef, and with an escort, and stating that, according to Treaty, French citizens have the right to travel throughout the dominions of the Sultan; but that, if Cid Mohammed Bargash chose to declare that there was no Government of the Sultan in the Reef country, and that His Sheereefian Majesty had no power of control over its inhabitants, France would be prepared to take steps to ensure the safety of her citizens when travelling in that country, and to cause them to be respected, or language of a menacing character to that effect.

Cid Mohammed Bargash's reply was couched in very temperate and friendly language. His Excellency stated that Reef is within the dominions of the Sultan, but that the inhabitants had from ancient times been of a very turbulent character, and in a constant state of revolution; that it is not safe even for Moorish subjects, not Reefians, to proceed there, and that any European who penetrated into that country would be exposed to the greatest danger, and that therefore it was impossible for him, under these circumstances, to accede to M. Ordega's desire.

To this letter M. Ordega replied in very harsh and menacing language. He repeats that Count de Chavaignac is entitled by Treaty to claim the right of travelling in Reef, and he therefore demands that orders be sent to the Reef people to allow the Count to enter, and that an escort be furnished; he further states that he will hold the Moorish Government responsible for his safety. M. Ordega observes that the Reef tribes, who had assembled in front of Peñon to prevent Count de Chavaignac passing the frontier, had stated that they would not allow him to pass without orders from the Sultan; which fact, he says, proves that they were prepared to allow him to travel in the Reef if orders were sent to that effect. He remarks that Moorish subjects can travel where they please in France, and he demands the same privilege for French citizens in Morocco. He

states that M. de Chavaignac is incurring heavy expenses on account of detention, and that the Sultan will be required to pay those expenses. He tells Cid Mohammed Bargash that by refusing to accede to his just demand he may bring about very serious consequences to his Sovereign, and that, if his demand is not attended to at once, concession offered hereafter may be too late, and he intimates that further opposition may endanger the friendly relations existing between the two Governments. In fact, the whole tone of the letter is harsh and menacing.

The Secretary informed me that Cid Mohammed Bargash was at his wits' ends to know what to do, for he was persuaded that if he acceded to M. Ordega's demand and addressed letters to the Chiefs near Peñon, requesting them to allow Count de Chavaignac to enter the Reef, they would not obey his orders, and that if, on the other hand, they did, it was most probable that other tribes, through whose districts M. de Chavaignac would have to pass to reach Urriagol, would stop him, or even put him to death, and therefore Cid Mohammed Bargash believed that persistence in refusing to accede to the demand was less likely to endanger the peaceful relations between the two countries than a rash acceptance.

The Secretary was directed to inform me that applications of European travellers to visit Reef, Soos, Zair, and the Shloh tribes of the Atlas had always been refused owing to the dangers to which they would be exposed in those districts, both as regards life and property.

The Secretary stated that he was directed by Cid Mohammed Bargash to ask for my opinion and advice. I replied that it was a very delicate task to offer advice when such menacing language had been made use of, but from my knowledge of the character of the Reef people, and that the majority of the tribes do not submit to the temporal authority of the Sultan, it appeared to me that Cid Mohammed Bargash could not have acted otherwise than he had done in declining to accede to M. Ordega's demand, for if Count de Chavaignac was allowed to cross the frontier in consequence of any letter of Cid Mohammed Bargash addressed to the Reef Chiefs in the neighbourhood of Peñon, he would probably be attacked and put to death by other warlike tribes, through whose country he would have to pass, and as M. Ordega declared he held the Moorish Government responsible for the safety of Count de Chavaignac, his death might give rise to a serious question, and therefore, in such a dilemma, refusal to accede to the demand appeared to me preferable to its acceptance.

I suggested that Cid Mohammed Bargash should express in discreet and friendly language his great regret that M. Ordega had not accepted as satisfactory the explanations he had offered as to the reasons why it was out of his power to accede to his demand, and should assure him that his refusal was based upon his knowledge of the character of the people of Reef, who would not only oppose the entry into their country of Europeans, but even of Moors who were not of Reef extraction. I further suggested that he should inform M. Ordega that no European had ever penetrated into that country, and that past applications for permission to do so had been refused; that the Moorish Government had frequently been requested to allow Europeans to travel in different parts of Morocco, such as the Soos, Tafilelt district, Atlas mountains, &c., but that it had declined, as their lives would be endangered, and therefore it could not be said that the Moorish Government had refused to grant to a French citizen what had been conceded to any other foreign subject. With regard to the threats used by M. Ordega, I suggested that Cid Mohammed Bargash should reply that he regretted to find such language had been resorted to, as it was his anxious desire to do all in his power to satisfy any reasonable demands of M. Ordega or of the French Government, and that he trusted on due consideration of the explanations he had offered, and of the dilemma in which he was placed, both the French Government and M. Ordega would be convinced that his opposition only proceeded from a sincere conviction that the life and property of the French citizen would not be safe if he entered the wild country of the Reef, and that no orders or letters that he (Cid Mohammed Bargash) could give to the Chiefs would be attended to.

I know not whether M. Ordega's demand proceeds from ignorance of the state of the Reef country, notorious from ancient times for the lawless character of its inhabitants and their disregard of the Sultan's authority, or whether he has received special instructions from Paris on the subject, and possibly an intimation that he is at liberty to raise questions with this Government, which France may hereafter take advantage of, should it suit her purpose to do so. The general language and conduct of M. Ordega leads to the latter supposition.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 27*.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received February 20.)

(No. 12. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tangier, February 14, 1884.*

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 5, 6, and 8 of the 17th, 20th, and 25th January, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that tidings have been received from Reef that the inhabitants of the districts of Uriagol and Beni Amart have destroyed the houses and property of the Sheikh Hadj Ali, who had taken an active part in assisting Count de Chavagnac to purchase the land where the gold ore is alleged to have been found. It is further reported that Hadj Hamoo Khamleesh, the brother of Hadj Mohammed Khamleesh, who is under French protection, as agent of Count de Chavagnac, has been murdered with fifteen other Reefians connected with the transaction, their houses also being burnt, and that the Sanctuary of the Khamleeshes, who are Marabouts, or descended from holy Mahommedans, has been razed to the ground.

Cid Mohammed Emkishid, Governor of Arzila, who is also Governor of Uriagol, to which tribe he belongs, received urgent orders from the Sultan last week to proceed to the disturbed district, and to endeavour to put a stop to a further commission of outrages, and to give, as I understand, an assurance to the inhabitants that the Sultan will not grant permission to the Frenchman to enter the Reef.

Cid Mohammed Emkishid, who generally resides at Tanger, hired a vessel, and proceeded by sea to Melilla, which fortress is in the vicinity of the Uriagol district.

Count de Chavagnac has not yet returned from Peñon. I understand that M. Ordega has advised him not to expose his life by entering the Reef; but leading articles in the French journal published at Tangier, which are said to be written, or at any rate inspired, by the French Legation, maintain the right by Treaty of the French citizen to travel wherever he pleases in the dominions of the Sultan, and that the Moorish Government is to be held responsible for his safety. In quoting Treaty stipulations the writer is careful not to introduce the clause, "subject to the regulations of police." He maintains that France, in taking the lead, as she has always done, in upholding the rights of her citizens in Morocco and other countries, renders an important service to the subjects of all nations. Still I can hardly believe that M. Ordega has received especial instructions to find a pretext for a quarrel with Morocco.

It is reported that the Sultan is disposed to grant compensation to Count de Chavagnac for the expenses he has incurred, and to repay him the value of the land he had purchased.

I expect that if this question is to be arranged peaceably, it will be effected in the usual way of compelling the Sultan to pay heavily to the interested parties.

I take this opportunity of mentioning that the French journal "Réveil du Maroc," which is published here, is supposed to receive a subvention from the French Legation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 27.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 9.)

My Lord, *Tangier, January 27, 1884.*

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 7 and 8 of the 20th and 25th instant, I have the honour to transmit a translation of an article which has appeared in a local paper of Tangier, the "Al-Moghreb al-Aksa," on the subject of the action of the French Minister in Reef, and of the protection extended by France to the Great Shereef of Wazan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 27.

Extract from the Tangier Journal "Al-Moghreb al-Aksa" of January 27, 1884.

(Translation.)

WE see France endeavouring to constitute herself the guardian of the mercantile speculations of Count de Chavaignac, and granting protection to an important Shereef* of the Reef district; we see France constituting herself the protector of the Great Shereef of Wazan, which is equivalent to establishing her jurisdiction over thousands of the population, or in truth over the greater portion of the territory which the Shereef possesses.

It is no exaggeration to state that France thus establishes her jurisdiction and a protectorate in Morocco, for, in confirmation of this, we have only to consider the history of the Great Shereef of Wazan, Cid-el-Hadj Abdesselam.

A descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, he belongs to the family of the Sultans of Morocco, and if this statement is not quite exact, for the Mussulman religion does not separate the civil authority from the religious, it is a common tradition that, according to the history of his ancestors, a partition of authority took place, by which the Throne of Morocco was upheld by the religious authority of the Prince of Wazan.

What is certain is that the Shereef is proprietor of vast tracts of land throughout Morocco, that he has numberless dependents, that he maintains numerous followers, both military and civil, and that he has relations with all the Governors of the country, and when any civil disturbance takes place, he is the sole and powerful mediator who is called upon to bring about a conciliation between the contending parties, which is equivalent to extending his protection to the Sultan himself, when harassed by the hostilities of rebels.

The Shereef, besides being regarded as holding the highest religious position in the country, is really a Moorish Prince, and, as such, has always been treated, not only in Morocco, where he is regarded with the highest respect by all Moors, but also by all the Representatives, and in Europe with the honours which are paid to Princes. As a proof of the veneration in which he is held, we may observe that he bears the title of the "House of Refuge." The worst criminal taking refuge in his house is safe from every one, even from the authority of the Sultan, and the criminal cannot be surrendered except by the express order of the Shereef.

The result of this is, that the protection afforded to the Shereef creates a powerful French State within the Moorish State, and thus France has taken an important step towards casting her Protectorate over the Moorish Empire.

No. 28.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 4.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 21, 1884.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 8, Secret, of the 25th ultimo, relative to the question of Count de Chavagnac's projected visit to the Reef country, and I have to state to you that the advice which, as reported in your above-mentioned despatch, you have given to Cid Mohammed Bargash upon this delicate matter appears to Her Majesty's Government to have been judicious.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

* The Khamleeshes.

No. 29.

Count Nigra to M. Mancini.—(*Communicated to Earl Granville, February* 25.)

(Traduction.)

JE n'ai pas manqué d'entretenir Lord Granville sur les faits concernant le Maroc, que votre Excellence m'a signalés.

Ces faits sont : la protection Française au Shérif de Wasan ; l'entreprise commerciale du Comte de Chavagnac dans le Riff ; les préparatifs d'action et de propagande des deux Associations, savoir : l'alliance pour la propagande de la langue Française ; et l'alliance Israélite universelle ; la mission militaire Française en permanence au Maroc, &c.

Les informations parvenues au Foreign Office sur les agissements de M. Ordega concordent en substance avec celles parvenues à votre Excellence.

Lord Granville m'a dit que son attention avait déjà été appelée sur ces faits et sur les tendances qu'ils semblent indiquer.

Sa Seigneurie est portée à penser que M. Ordega agit peut-être par sa propre impulsion, plus que par suite d'instructions de son Gouvernement. Néanmoins, même dans cette hypothèse la chose offre, aux yeux du Gouvernement Anglais, des dangers non moins considérables.

Lord Granville reconnait que l'Italie, comme l'Espagne, et comme l'Angleterre, a un intérêt au maintien du *status quo* territorial dans cette partie de l'Afrique. Il est d'avis que ces Puissances pourraient faire utilement quelque démarche auprès du Gouvernement Français pour le mettre en garde sur la manière d'agir du Représentant de la République à Tanger et sur les complications qui pourraient s'ensuivre. Cette démarche, dans la pensée de Lord Granville, devrait être faite en forme amicale officieuse et séparément. Le Gouvernement Anglais, dans l'intérêt même du succès de cette espèce de loyal avertissement, veut éviter de lui donner l'apparence d'une action commune, et plus encore un caractère comminatoire quelconque.

Dans ce sens, Lord Granville m'a semblé disposé à faire parvenir les observations au Cabinet de Paris.

Je lui ai donné l'assurance que cette communication entre lui et moi resterait confidentielle.

Substance of preceding Despatch.

The despatch states that Count Nigra had not failed to communicate with Lord Granville respecting certain matters relating to Morocco to which attention had been called by M. Mancini.

These were: French protection accorded to the Sheerif of Wasan; the commercial enterprise of the Count of Chavagnac in the Riff country; the proceedings of two Associations, namely, the alliance for the propagation of the French language; and the universal Jewish alliance; the permanent military mission of the French in Morocco, &c.

The despatch continues that the information received at the Foreign Office in regard to M. Ordega's proceedings agreed substantially with that received by M. Mancini. That Lord Granville stated that his attention had already been called to these facts, and to the tendency they seemed to indicate, but that he was inclined to think that M. Ordega was possibly acting more on his own responsibility than on instructions from his Government. Nevertheless, the affair appeared to the British Government to offer considerable danger even under this hypothesis.

Lord Granville admitted the common interest which Italy, Spain, and England have in the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in this part of Africa; and was of opinion that these Powers might with advantage take steps to represent to the French Government the complications which might ensue from the action of their Representative at Tangiers. Such advice might be offered amicably in an unofficial manner, and by the three Powers separately.

The British Government, with a view to the success of this kind of loyal warning, was extremely anxious to avoid any appearance of common action, and especially of a threatening character.

Lord Granville appeared disposed to make a communication to the French Cabinet in the above sense.

In conclusion, Count Nigra states that he had assured Lord Granville that what had passed would be regarded by him as strictly confidential.

No. 30.

Memorandum.

IN July last M. Ordega, the French Minister, spoke, in conversation with Sir J. Hay, in strong terms of the misgovernment by the Sultan of Morocco and his Ministers, said that the maintenance of friendly relations became a very difficult task, and that he saw no remedy except that some foreign Power should take possession of Morocco.

He went on to say that it would be a satisfaction to the French Government if Spain would take possession of Morocco; "if not," he said, "the time must come when we shall be compelled to annex the country, though we do not at present desire it.

M. Ordega seems to have held similar language to the Spanish and Italian Ministers. Upon his return from leave of absence, however, he informed M. Diosdado, the Spanish Minister, that he had been directed by M. Ferry to pursue the same line of policy as that followed by Spain for the maintenance and independence of Morocco.

M. Ordega's attitude towards the Moorish Government does not seem, however, to have been modified in any degree.

There are two questions at this moment upon which M. Ordega is at variance with the Moorish Government:—

1. The proposed visit of a French subject, Count de Chavaignac, to the Reef country, with a view to work certain mines.

The Moorish authorities refuse to allow him to enter the country, on the ground that they cannot answer for his safety in that wild district, whereas M. Ordega maintains that, according to Treaty, foreign subjects have the right to travel, and reside, and to be protected in the territories of the Sultan, and that a refusal to allow Count de Chavaignac to proceed will be equivalent to an admission that the Reef country is not within the dominions of the Sultan,

It would appear that a compliance with M. Ordega's request would be likely to have even fatal results, as the inhabitants of the Reef are of most turbulent character, and it is not considered safe for Moorish subjects, not of Reef extraction, to proceed to the district, and any Europeans who penetrated into the country would be exposed to the greatest danger. Applications of European travellers to visit Reef, Soos, Zair, and the Shloh tribes of the Atlas have, as a matter of fact, always been refused by the Moorish Government for this reason.

If the Count de Chavaignac was allowed to cross the frontier in consequence of any letter from the Moorish Government to the Reef Chiefs in the neighbourhood of Peñom, it appears probable that he would be attacked and put to death by other warlike tribes through whose country he would have to pass, and as M. Ordega held the Moorish Government responsible for the safety of the Count, his death might give rise to a most serious question.

2. The extension of French protection to the Shereef of Wazan, one of the most prominent and powerful of the native Chiefs in Morocco.

It is reported that M. Ordega has informed the Moorish Minister that he has received instructions from Paris to inform the Sultan that the Shereef has been taken under French protection on account of services which he had rendered to France in frontier questions with the tribes of Morocco, and that the right to do so is based on the stipulation of Article XVI of the Madrid Convention.

The Article of the Convention runs as follows:—

"No irregular or officious protection shall be granted in future. The authorities of Morocco shall not recognize any rights of protection, whatever may be their nature, other than those which are expressly laid down in the Convention.

"Nevertheless, the exercise of the customary right of protection shall be reserved to those cases alone where it is a question of rewarding signal services rendered by a subject of Morocco to a foreign Power, or for other entirely exceptional reasons."

But it was added:—

"The nature of the services, and the *intention* of rewarding them by protection shall be *previously* notified to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Tangier, in order that he may, if necessary, offer any observations. The final decision shall be reserved, however, to the Government to whom the service shall have been rendered."

But it was agreed that the number of these protected persons should not exceed

twelve for each Power, which number was declared to be fixed as a maximum unless the consent of the Sultan was obtained.

It does not, however, appear whether the French Government have notified to the Moorish Government their intention to reward the Shereef of Wazan by protection *previously* to their conferring it upon him, so that the latter had no opportunity of making any observations thereupon beforehand.

It seems difficult to argue that it was the intention of the Convention of 1880 to allow French protection to be conferred upon a native Sheikh having such powerful adherents as the Shereef Hadj Abdeshelam, without the previous knowledge or consent of the Sultan.

Indeed, this action on the part of the French would seem to be opposed to the general tenour and spirit of the Convention in question.

By Article V of that Convention it was expressly agreed that the Government of Morocco recognized the right (which was accorded by the British and Spanish Treaties, and by the French Convention of 1863 with Morocco) of Ministers, Chargés d'Affaires, and other Representatives to select the persons whom they employed, whether in their personal service, *or in that of their Governments, provided always that they were not Sheikhs*, or others in the employ of the Government of Morocco.

A single exception was maintained in favour of the Benchimol family by the Convention of 1863, but which, it was added, was not to be held as creating a precedent.

Article XVI of the Convention of 1880 then declared that no irregular or officious protection should be granted in future, and that the authorities of Morocco should not recognize any rights of protection, *whatever might be their nature*, other than those which were expressly laid down in that Convention.

It appears, morever, that such protection is equivalent to establishing French jurisdiction over thousands of the population and the greater part of the territory which the Shereef possesses.

Foreign Office, February 25, 1884.

No. 31.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 183. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 28, 1884.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon at my request.

I asked M. Waddington whether he could tell me who would be the Arbitrator on the part of the French Government on the British claims in Tunis.

I said that I was glad to inform him that we had selected Sir A. Dingli, a man of high character and position, as the English Arbitrator.

I then alluded to what his Excellency had so well said in a recent speech as to the frequent contact of the English and French nations in all parts of the world, and the occasion thus given for the occurrence of causes of temporary friction.

I said I believed that attention to the choice of our respective Agents, and to the instructions given to them, was the great preventive of such risks.

I specified some cases, where appointments and changes had been made by us in this view, and some instances where I could have no doubt that conciliatory instructions from the French Government had been very useful. I mentioned the names of some French Agents of whom I had heard great praise, and of others of whom I had received less favourable reports.

I then alluded to M. Ordega, the French Representative in Morocco.

I put officiously into M. Waddington's hands the inclosed Memorandum,* which described several incidents, some of no great importance, and others which were closed, but which in general showed a tone and a spirit which might very easily create unnecessary quarrels.

These, I said, affected the relations between the French Government and ourselves.

There were, however, other proceedings of M. Ordega which were of a different character, and which, from the assurances which I had received from time to time from the French Government, I was convinced were not countenanced by M. Ferry. I believed his policy to coincide with ours, and to be actuated by a desire for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Morocco.

* No. 25.

I then gave M. Waddington, also officiously, a further Memorandum, of which I inclose a copy.*

M. Waddington agreed with the general views I had expressed with regard to the conduct of our respective Agents. He seemed to think it possible that some of the personal criticisms I had made were not unfounded.

With regard to Morocco, he assured me in the strongest terms that the policy of France was exactly such as I had described. He said that nothing would be so unwise as for France to create any disturbance in that country.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 32.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received March 1.)

(No. 14. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tangier, February* 22, 1884.

WITH reference to my despatches No. 5 of the 17th January, No. 6 of the 20th January, No. 8 of the 25th January, and No. 12 of the 14th February, regarding Count de Chavagnac, and the demand put forward by M. Ordega that he should be allowed to travel in the Reef country, the Secretary of Cid Mohammed Bargash informed me yesterday, confidentially, that the Sultan, at the demand of M. Ordega, has removed Kaid Emkished from the Governorship of Urriagol, in Reef, on account of his having declined to accede to the demands made by M. Ordega, and that His Shereefian Majesty has given orders that Count de Chavagnac, or any other foreign subject, shall be allowed to travel in the Reef country on condition that no responsibility shall rest with the Moorish Government for loss of life or property.

It would appear that the Sultan has decided on acceding to the demands of M. Ordega on account of the menacing language he had made use of, and that His Shereefian Majesty feared a refusal might bring about a rupture of relations with France.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 33.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received March 1.)

(No. 15. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tangier, February* 23, 1884.

M. DIOSDADO informs me that in the course of conversation with M. Ordega, the latter expressed himself in very decided terms regarding the fate of this country, and said that the "obstructive" policy pursued by him (M. Diosdado) and by myself in upholding the Sultan and his Government would be of no avail.

M. Diosdado observed that if France sent 40,000 men across the frontier, he agreed that the "obstructive" policy, as he chose to style it, could not stop their advance and conquest of the country, but such an event might produce grave consequences.

M. Ordega said he was cognizant of the language I had held to the Sultan, and that I had also spoken in the name of Spain.

M. Diosdado replied that Spain and England have a common interest in upholding the independence and integrity of Morocco, and, as he did not hesitate to communicate to me freely his views on this subject, he thought it was not unlikely that I might have informed the Sultan that our views were identic, and that Spain, as well as England, desired that His Shereefian Majesty should do all in his power to satisfy the just demands of France, or of other foreign Powers.

M. Ordega observed, "Do you not know that England will seize Tangier when she has an opportunity?"

M. Diosdado said he knew not what might happen on the part of England or of Spain under certain contingencies.

I observed to M. Diosdado that M. Ordega frequently ventures on remarks of

* No. 30.

this kind without the slightest grounds with the view of eliciting a reply which might give him an insight into the views of his hearers.

M. Ordega told M. Diosdado that England had requested France to send 20,000 troops to put down the Mahdi in Egypt, for England had engaged in a task which was beyond her strength, and he intimated that our hands were consequently full at the present time.

In alluding to the subject of the protection granted to the Shereef of Wazan, M. Ordega said that France would derive no great advantages thereby, for that Morocco would be "kicked out," and to express this more clearly he made a gesture with his foot, the day an army of 20,000 men was dispatched to this country.

An intimate friend of one of the officers of the French Legation states that the latter told him that M. Ordega was to be the "Roustan" of Morocco.

I hear that M. Ordega is making preparations to go to the Moorish Court this spring.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—With reference to my despatch No. 92, Secret, of the 15th November last. I shall take care to repeat my warning to His Shereefian Majesty to be on his guard.

J. H. D. H.

No. 34.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 5.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 4, 1884.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 7, Secret, of the 20th January, on the subject of the protection lately granted by the French Government to the Shereef of Wazan; and I approve the language which you have held to this functionary, as well as to Cid Mohammed Bargash, with reference to this proceeding, as reported in your despatch.

With reference to the statement which appears to have been made by the French Government, that the Shereef Hadj Abdesselam had been taken under French protection on account of services which he had rendered to France in frontier questions with the tribes of Morocco, in accordance with rights granted by the Madrid Convention, I have to request that you will ascertain and report to me whether the services thus said to have been rendered had been stated beforehand by the French Government to the Moorish Government, in accordance with Article XVI of the Madrid Convention, which says:—

"The nature of the services, and the intention of rewarding them by protection, shall be previously notified to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Tangier, in order that he may, if necessary, offer any observations," &c.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 35.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received March 5.)

(No. 16. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, February* 26, 1884.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 14 of the 22nd instant, I am informed by one of my colleagues that M. Ordega had read to him a despatch he had received from the French Government, in which his zeal and firmness in the conduct of the question with the Moorish Government regarding the right of the Count de Chavagnac, and French citizens in general, to travel in Reef, or other parts of Morocco, is commended, and the services he has rendered are rewarded by his promotion to the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the First Class. M. Ordega is, however, told that the French Government is very desirous to avoid untoward questions with the Moorish Government, which might rouse the susceptibilities of other foreign Powers, and it is recommended that he should discourage travellers from going to the Reef or other

parts of Morocco, where the Sultan has little power of control over his subjects; and it is stated that should they do so it will be on their own responsibility, and no claims for compensation for loss of life or property would be supported by the French Government.

My informant added the despatch left the impression upon his mind that the French Government approved the zeal of M. Ordega, but disapproved of the menacing attitude he had assumed in this question.

Cid Mohammed Bargash tells me that M. Ordega had informed him he considered the question about M. de Chavagnac and the Reef at an end.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 36.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 211. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 5, 1884.

THE French Ambassador returned to me this afternoon the two Confidential Memoranda which I had given to his Excellency respecting the proceedings of French agents in Morocco, of which copies were inclosed in my despatch No. 183 of the 28th ultimo.

M. Waddington said that he had written to M. Ferry upon the subject of these papers. He remarked that the cases referred to in that which concerned the demeanour of the French Consular authorities towards British agents and subjects were small matters, and not of any great importance.

I said that they seemed to me to be of just sufficient importance to make it desirable to give or to repeat instructions to the officers in question to cultivate friendly relations with their British colleagues, and to treat British subjects with consideration.

I had no doubt that such instructions would produce an excellent effect.

M. Waddington then spoke of the other Memorandum, which related to the proceedings of M. Ordega. His Excellency said that M. Ordega seemed to be imprudent in his language; that he had written to M. Ferry on the subject, but that he was convinced that if M. Ordega was acting in the manner described, it was without the sanction of the French Government. M. Waddington went on to say that there was no class either of politicians or of the general public in France which was in favour of an aggressive attitude towards Morocco, that he believed the policy of the French Government was identical with that of Great Britain, and that they wished the Spanish Government to be free to take whatever line they thought fit.

I said that our policy was, as I had supposed that of the French Government to be, to maintain the *status quo* in Morocco.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 37.

*Earl Granville to Sir J. S. Lumley.**

(No. 47. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 5, 1884.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copies of despatches as marked in the margin,† upon the subject of certain questions in dispute between the French and Moorish Governments, and the attitude of the French Minister at Tangier.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* Also to Sir R. Morier (No. 25.)

† Nos. 31, 32, and 33.

No. 38.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 6. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, March 5, 1884.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris,* recording a conversation which I have had with M. Waddington upon the subject of the relations between France and Morocco.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 39.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.†

(No. 200. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, March 8, 1884.

My Lord,

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, the substance of a despatch from Count Nigra to M. Mancini, respecting the affairs of Morocco, which was communicated to me by Count Nigra on the 25th ultimo.‡

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 40.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 17. Confidential.)

Tangier, March 1, 1884.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 15 of the 23rd ultimo, wherein I mentioned that M. Ordega intended to visit the Moorish Court this spring, I learnt yesterday from a colleague that M. Ordega had told him, in the course of conversation, that he had received instructions from Paris not to visit the Sultan, as there was no subject in discussion which required his presence at the Moorish Court.

M. Ordega added that the French Government thought, under these circumstances, a Mission to the Moorish Court might give rise to misapprehensions on the part of other foreign Governments, whereas it was the anxious desire of the French Government to maintain the most friendly relations with the Sultan.

It is evident that the French Government has given M. Ordega to understand that they do not desire to have a Morocco question brought on the tapis at the present time.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 41.

Sir R. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received March 15.)

(No. 32. Most Confidential.)

Madrid, March 6, 1884.

My Lord,

IN a conversation with the Minister of State on the 1st instant, his Excellency said he could not hide from me that the Spanish Government were preoccupied with the state of affairs in Morocco, and with the events which might arise in that country if matters continued to follow a course so little favourable to the maintenance of the *status quo* as they had of late years done.

I asked his Excellency in what consisted the dangers which preoccupied the Government.

* No. 31.

† Also to Sir S. Lumley (No 50), Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 7), and Sir R. Morier (No. 26).

‡ See No. 29.

He replied, first, that the evils for which a remedy had been sought in the Madrid Conference, namely, the encroachments on the rights of the Sultan by the abuse of the privileges which the Europeans settled in that country had arrogated to themselves, had increased rather than diminished, owing to the absence of all collective co-operation in Morocco on the part of the Powers represented in Madrid for the purpose of carrying into effect the decisions of the Conference. Indeed, amongst those Powers there were some which had opposed themselves openly both to the spirit and to the letter of those decisions.

Secondly, it was impossible to conceal from oneself that the spirit of Mussulman fanaticism, which was daily asserting itself more and more over the whole of Mediterranean Africa, represented a danger of the most real kind for Morocco, so long as matters remained in their present state there. A movement of this description, breaking out in the dominions of the Sultan, might in forty-eight hours overthrow his throne, and carry fire and flame throughout the countries on the other side of the Straits.

Thirdly, the attitude of France was becoming, if not more menacing, at least more openly divergent from the policy consecrated by the Madrid Conference, whose object had been to repudiate all exclusive projects in regard to Morocco, and to insure the maintenance of an attitude of collective benevolence towards that Empire.

It was with the greatest *ménagements* for France that the Minister of State approached this portion of his subject. The King's Government had nothing more at heart than the maintenance of friendly relations with the neighbouring Republic, and would use all their efforts to remove any cause of disagreement which might arise between the two countries. But in matters of such grave importance as that under discussion, it was necessary, before all things, to guard against illusions, and not to turn away one's eyes from the future towards which one was inevitably moving. To speak frankly, Spain could not but view with disquiet the possibility of France becoming her neighbour to the south as well as on the north, having her in front of her on the other side of the Straits whilst buttressed against her in the Pyrenees, nor did he think that such a state of things would be to the advantage of Europe.

His Excellency then went on to recapitulate the successive steps by which France had more and more accentuated her position as a Power specially interested in Moorish affairs, and referred to the adventures of Count de Chavagnac amongst the Arabs of the Riff, the naturalization as a Frenchman of, and the grant of French protection to, the Shereef of Wazan, and the refusal of France to associate herself with the other Powers, whose Representatives at Tangier had provisionally given a favourable reply to the proposal of the Shereefian Government that, seeing the impossibility there was for them to give effective protection to strangers in certain provinces of the Empire, the European Powers would abstain from carrying on commercial operations in those provinces, and making the Sultan responsible for the conflicts which might arise in connection with such operations.

Having no knowledge of recent events in Morocco, I was unable to follow Señor Elduayen in the details of these several episodes, or to judge of his mode of appreciating them. But the general result towards which his Excellency tended appeared to me sufficiently clear. It was that the only way to prevent Moorish complications from taking proportions embarrassing for every one was to insist on the collective treatment of the question, and on the disinterested accord of the European Powers in regard to it. The moment for such an accord, his Excellency observed, was far more propitious to-day than it had ever been before, and especially during the time of the Conference at Madrid. Then Germany was more bent on giving proofs of generosity towards France than on occupying herself seriously with the question of Morocco. Russia held entirely aloof, whilst Italy opposed herself openly to the objects of the Conference, where, represented by the very active and demonstrative Minister who had for years worked Morocco in an exclusively Italian sense, she left little doubt that she did not share the idea of collective benevolence which had given rise to its meeting.

All this had changed. Germany, seeing the danger which might accrue to the peace of Europe if the *status quo* were disturbed, now took a lively interest in seeing to its maintenance. Even Russia had shaken off her apathy, and Italy, M. Scovasso having been recalled from Tangier, was ready frankly to rally herself to a policy of disinterestedness.

The Minister of State said nothing which could lead me to believe that the Spanish Cabinet contemplated taking the initiative in once more uniting the Powers in Conference at Madrid; an idea which seemed to me to have at one time occupied the attention of the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo. His object, on the contrary, appeared to be

simply to bring out, in a clear and logical manner, that if matters went on from worse to worse, there was no solution possible *in abstracto* other than the European treatment of the question. The freedom of the Straits and of the entrance into the Mediterranean was, in the first instance, a matter of European interest. Spain could not be asked to make herself the sole and only champion of this liberty. She was ready to do all she could within the measure of her strength, but she had a right to ask that those who were equally interested with herself should stand by her, and this she had the hope would, as regards the majority of the great Continental Powers, now be the case.

Apart from this collective European action, however, there was an action of a more restricted nature, but which might yet suffice of itself to stop for a long while the process of disorganization and decomposition in Morocco. The frank and loyal co-operation of Great Britain and Spain for the maintenance of the *status quo*, the certainty felt by Europe that the two Powers conjointly would never tolerate the dismemberment of the Sultan's dominions for the profit of any European Power whatsoever, would be the surest means of safeguarding the future and of bringing about the collective action of Europe in a true and efficacious manner.

When, at the time of the Conference, the Conservative party were in power in Spain, the agreement between the two Governments was assured, and they stood side by side, on the same line, and contending for the same principles in the meetings of the Plenipotentiaries. Had the attitude of Her Britannic Majesty's Government changed? This it was that the Spanish Government especially desired to know; for his Excellency could not conceal his fears that a certain coolness ("un refroidissement") had arisen in the interest formerly taken by Great Britain in the fate and future of Morocco; and he added that he would regard such an eventuality as a very great misfortune. The King's Government desired nothing more than to adapt their line of conduct to ours ("de régler sa marche d'après la nôtre") if ours continued to have for its object the resolute and energetic maintenance of the *status quo*.

I answered that nothing led me to believe that Her Majesty's Government had changed their way of looking at Moorish affairs, and that my instructions on the subject were identical with those which had been received by my predecessor. I promised, however, that I would not fail to lay before your Lordship the important appreciations to which his Excellency had given expression, and the earnest desire of His Catholic Majesty's Government to come to an understanding with us in regard to the conduct to be followed in the questions actually pending at Tangier.

A few days after this conversation I received a visit from the President of the Council, and the question of Morocco again formed the subject of discussion.

Señor Cánovas del Castillo gave me an eloquent account of his Moorish policy, as an integral part of the general foreign policy which he had persistently followed, from the day the affairs of Spain had been first confided to him as the responsible adviser of his Sovereign. Spain, before all things, required peace and rest for the purposes of her internal consolidation. Consequently, the very first duty of her statesmen was energetically to oppose themselves to those adventurous dreams with which journalists amused themselves and their readers. First in the list of these adventures he placed, and had always placed, the acquisition of Portugal and Morocco. On entering office for the first time he had found public opinion still excited by the recollection of the expedition to Morocco, and of the victories obtained by the Spanish arms over the Moors. The result of this was that the two Powers, England and Spain, whose interests alike bound them to have at heart the maintenance of the *status quo*, found themselves, owing to mutual jealousies, incapable of assisting each other in the attainment of this common end. He had changed all this with one stroke of the pen, by sending categorical instructions to the Spanish Agent at Tangier always to come to a joint understanding with the British Agent in regard to everything having reference to the maintenance of the Sultan's authority and to the welfare of Morocco. He was inspired by the same idea at the Conference, where, in accord with Her Majesty's Minister, he maintained the interests of the Sultan to the limit of the possible ("où d'accord avec le Représentant de Sa Majesté Britannique je soutins les intérêts du Sultan jusqu'à la limite du possible"). His object was to preserve the *status quo* on the southern littoral of the Mediterranean, or at any rate to secure the adjournment of the grave difficulties which might arise in those countries from the clash of European interests. His sincere conviction was that British and Spanish interests were those easiest to reconcile in Africa.

His Excellency then referred to a British despatch which he had once read, and which he believed bore Lord Derby's signature. It contained a statement to the effect that Great Britain would never consent to one of the Great Powers establishing itself in Morocco. This despatch had produced a strong impression upon him, for, knowing the

tenacity with which the British Government pursued its political aims, this declaration appeared to him to assure to Morocco the efficient support of Great Britain, should its independence at any time be seriously threatened. Accordingly, as Spain could have no other object in view than the maintenance of that selfsame independence, his policy was marked out for him, namely, to make common cause with England.

His Excellency spoke to me at great length upon this question, always in the same current of ideas. There is no need for me, however, to dwell further on what he said, because, desiring after his Excellency left to refresh my memory as to the events connected with the Conference, I read over Mr. West's despatches in 1879 and 1880, and was much struck by finding in the reports of his conversations with Señor Cánovas, not only the selfsame arguments, but in many instances the very words and phrases his Excellency had just used. This remarkable identity of view and exposition of policy, after an interval of four years, appears to me a conclusive proof that the policy of Señor Cánovas on this question is not one from hand to mouth, but based on a plan carefully thought out, and from which he is not likely to depart, so long as circumstances allow him to follow it. I should, add, moreover, that it is not merely as Minister, and in these conversations with Her Majesty's Representatives, that his Excellency has thus expressed himself, but that he has constantly, as leader of the Opposition in Parliament, as well as in extra-Parliamentary utterances, used the same language, and not ceased to launch his powerful anathemas against the policy of foreign adventure. I also wish to place on record that when, on the occasion of our Egyptian expedition in 1882, the entire Spanish press, and none more so than the Ministerial organs (a few free trade journals were the only exceptions), did not cease to heap insults on Her Majesty's Government, and calumnies on the naval and military forces of Her Majesty, and arrayed itself on the side of Arabi Bey, and whilst reasonable persons held their tongues, the only statesman who had the courage to range himself with us on the side of Europe, and to admit that Great Britain represented the cause of civilization *versus* African barbarism, was Señor Cánovas.

I have in the preceding pages faithfully recorded the sense and purport of the two important conversations I have held on the subject of Morocco with their Excellencies Señores Elduayen and Cánovas; before concluding, I wish to make the following observations.

Without in any way desiring to criticize the policy of the Cabinet which succeeded that of Señor Cánovas in 1880, there cannot, I think, be a doubt that the foreign policy of the Conservative Government is more logical and stable than was that of the Fusionist Ministry, and that there need be no fear of encountering at their hands such fantastic projects as that of preventing others from laying hands on Morocco, by a joint occupation of the country by England and Spain. But there is a special consideration which seems to be of importance. From personal rather than political causes, the relations between the French and Spanish Governments were none of the best when the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo was Foreign Minister. There was always the greatest mutual jealousy, and there was a risk of the least provocation bringing about a serious misunderstanding. This state of nervous irritation has passed away, on this side at least, and there can be no doubt that the present Ministry are doing all they can to *ménager* French susceptibilities, and to avoid anything and everything that could cause unpleasantness between the two countries. I have no hesitation, therefore, in expressing my conviction that in attempting to stir up afresh the spirit of collective action at Tangier there lurks no wish to get up an European coalition against so-called French interests in Morocco. Indeed, Señor Cánovas energetically rejected the idea that Spain in any way desired to move actively in the matter, or to take the initiative in bringing about the collective action he regarded as so desirable. All the Ministry wished was to make other Governments realize, as clearly as they did themselves, that, seeing the possibility of dangerous friction in those parts, the best chance of avoiding it was by the previous settlement of a *modus vivendi* amongst the parties interested. I have accordingly good grounds for believing that their keen desire to come to an understanding with us on this subject is in great part dictated by the hope that our good relations with France might tend to facilitate an agreement between themselves and the latter Power on a question the importance of which to Spain can scarcely be overrated.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

No. 42.

Sir R. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received March 15.)

(No. 33. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Madrid, March* 11, 1884.

AS I was aware that both Señor Elduayen and Señor Canovas attached great importance to the conversations they held with me in reference to Morocco, as reported in my despatch No. 32 of the 6th instant, I thought it prudent to let their Excellencies have an opportunity of seeing, and, if necessary, correcting, the report I had addressed to your Lordship on their communications. I accordingly placed before them the exact equivalent in French of such portions of my despatch No. 32 above referred to as contained an account of their spoken words. Both Ministers admitted the perfect accuracy of my report, and thanked me for having so clearly set forth that which they desired to say.

In returning to me this afternoon the Memorandum I had left with him, Señor Elduayen said that, in the opinion of Señor Cánovas and himself, this survey of the situation from the Spanish point of view would not be complete, unless the Spanish Government at the same time stated frankly what, as far as they were concerned, would be the alternative, in the event of a forcible disturbance of the *status quo*, without any preliminary understanding having been come to between the European Powers as to the course to be followed in such event. That alternative could be no other than for Spain to defend her position and interests on the other side of the Straits to the best of her ability. His Excellency had accordingly drawn up, as a sequel, and as it were a final piece, to my report of the conversations, the short Memorandum of which I have the honour to transmit the inclosed copy herewith.

This Memorandum contains the pith of the whole question, and states in a few words the prospective danger which Spain so earnestly desires to guard against.

A revolution occurs in Morocco. The Sultan is deposed, and the country is thrown into a state of hopeless anarchy. The French march in from Algeria to restore order. (In a letter I received from Sir John Drummond Hay in the autumn of 1882 he declared that but for the battle of Tel-el-Kebir this is what would certainly have happened in the months of August or September.) What alternative is there for Spain but on her side to march in, and at whatever risk, to take up a position in defence of the outposts she has already there secured?

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

Inclosure in No. 42.

Memorandum.

LE Gouvernement du Roi qui désire prolonger et maintenir l'état actuel des choses au Maroc autant qu'il lui sera possible, craint d'une part voir survenir une époque de dissolution, a cause, non seulement du fanatisme Musulman, mais aussi de la propre faiblesse et désorganisation intérieure du pays, et de l'autre, que le *statu quo* ne soit pas maintenu par un accord Européen, ou que les solutions futures ne soient pas cherchées et trouvées par ce même procédé. L'Espagne alors, quoique regrettant sincèrement de tels événements, ferait naturellement usage de la liberté qu'ils lui accorderaient pour affermir sa propre position au delà du Détroit par tous les moyens dont elle pourrait disposer, car elle ne saurait pas voir tranquillement que d'autres pussent prendre à l'avance des positions qui menaceraient ses intérêts.

No. 43.

Sir R. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received March 15.)

(No. 34. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Madrid, March* 12, 1884.

I HAVE had conversations both with my Austrian and German colleagues on the subject of Morocco. The former broached the subject to me, and was anxious to learn whether either Señor Elduayen or Señor Cánovas had spoken to me respecting it, as he

knew the matter was, with that of Andorra, much preoccupying the attention of the Spanish Government. He especially wished to learn whether I had been able to ascertain exactly what it was that the Spanish Government were driving at, and what practical object they had in view, for, though Señor Elduayen had spoken to him at length, he had not quite understood the drift of what he said. I told Count Dubsky that, from the positive statements made to me, I was in a position to say that nothing was further from the thoughts of the Spanish Government than the taking any initiative in bringing about the reassembling of the Conference, and that all they wished, or said they wished, was to impress on others the strong conviction they felt themselves that the question was one that required collective amicable treatment.

Having heard from other sources than the Spanish Foreign Office that there had been a lively exchange of telegrams on the subject between Madrid and Berlin, I asked my German colleague what were his views on the matter, and what had passed between him and the Minister of Estado, telling him what his Excellency had stated to me respecting the altered attitude of Germany. Count Solms did not reply freely to my interrogatory, and rather seemed as if he wished to shirk the question, confining himself to generalities, but saying that it was certain that Morocco might lead to grave complications, and that the German Government were occupying themselves with the question. He then turned the conversation into one of personal reminiscences, and said he had himself seen with his own eyes the proofs of the protection and "petits soins" which Her Majesty's Government lavished on Morocco, as he had himself witnessed the setting up of Armstrong guns at Tangier by British officers. I asked him whether he, as a countryman of Krupp, could seriously believe that the presence of Armstrong guns in a foreign country meant that they had been supplied to the Government of that country by that of Her Majesty, and were paid for by the British taxpayer. This would at once lead, by a parity of reasoning, to the inference that the Krupp batteries at Bakningh, and other interesting points of the planet, were furnished by Prince Bismarck! As Mr. and Mrs. Krupp, junior, spent last winter here selling guns to the Spanish Government, and had been energetically assisted by my colleague, he had nothing to say in reply.

All things considered, I should not be altogether astonished to learn that Count Benovar had, at Berlin, been sounding the German Government with a view to see whether they might not be inclined to take up the Moorish question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

No. 44.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received March 19.)

(No. 19.)

My Lord, *Tangier, March* 13, 1884.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 18 of yesterday's date, transmitting the translation of a letter from Cid Mohammed Bargash, communicating the reply of the Sultan regarding the result of the inquiry which has been made into the charges put forward by the Sûs and North African Company against two Moorish officials, I have the honour to inclose a portion of a local paper, the "Al-moghreb Al-aksa," of the 9th instant, containing a letter addressed to the Editor by a Director of the said Company, in which he comments upon, and complains of, the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in this affair, and generally of the neglect of the interests of British subjects by myself, as contrasted with the conduct of affairs by the Representatives of other Powers in dealing with this Government.

As this letter is probably published in some of the English papers, and, as the attention of Her Majesty's Government may be drawn to the charges which are evidently directed against myself of neglect of British interests, and that the subjects of other nations are placed on a better footing, I beg to state that these charges are without the slightest foundation, and no one can show that privileges are enjoyed by foreign subjects in Morocco which are not possessed by British subjects.

The French Minister, on his visit to the Moorish Court in the spring of 1882, demanded that the outstanding claims of French citizens upon Moorish subjects should be settled and paid by the Moorish Government within six months, agreeing, at the same time, to make a large reduction in the claims put forward by the French Government upon the Sultan for indemnifying the loss of property in Algeria caused by the

raids of Boo Amama and other Chiefs dwelling on the Moroccan terrirory. I was at the Moorish Court at the same time as the French Minister, and, on hearing that the Sultan had consented to settle the French claims, I required that the claims of British subjects should be placed on an equal footing. This was agreed to, as your Lordship will learn from the accompanying translation of an extract from a letter addressed to me by the Vizier Mukhtar in May 1882. The French Minister had presented at the Court documentary evidence of the claims of French citizens, and, as I had not been provided by British subjects with like proofs of their claims, I was requested by the Vizier to call upon them to present written evidence of their claims. French claims, I may remark, were far less numerous, and were insignificant in comparison with the claims of British subjects.

From various causes considerable delay took place in the production of all the documents of the British claimants, and they were not presented to Cid Mohammed Bargash for delivery to the Commissioners sent from the Court to investigate them until about seven months ago.

I have repeatedly urged that the Commissioners use diligence in the investigation, and that the claims should be transmitted to the Court for settlement, as had been engaged. The procrastination and negligence of Moorish officials are proverbial, and a constant source of annoyance. The accompanying extracts from letters addressed to me by the Vizier will satisfy your Lordship that I have never ceased to call upon this Government to fulfil their engagements.

With regard to the claims of the subjects of other Powers, I can declare that no payment of them has yet been effected. The Italian Government, as your Lordship is aware, sent a squadron to support their Minister in his demands for a settlement of claims, and it was finally arranged that the Moorish Government would collect the debts and pay within the term of one year. Cid Mohammed Bargash has formally engaged that the claim of Italian or other foreign subjects will not be settled before those of the British, and in consequence of my pressing representations he has assured me that the claims of British subjects will be forwarded to the Moorish Court for settlement in the course of this month.

My chief object in addressing your Lordship this despatch is to provide your Lordship with information in case any questions are put in Parliament in consequence of the inaccurate statements and charges put forward by the Sûs and North African Company.

Though I have assured your Lordship in this despatch that no privileges are enjoyed by the subjects of foreign Powers which are not granted to British subjects, I have to admit that the general minatory attitude and dictatorial language resorted to by the French Minister and the members of his Legation in their dealings with this Government and with the local authorities, enable them to impose their will, as has lately occurred in affording French protection to the Great Shereef of Wazan, and in insisting that French citizens shall be allowed to travel in the country of Reef, where the Sultan has very little power of control.

In questions with the local authorities, no consideration is shown for their independent rights, and violent and abusive language is frequently resorted to by French officials until their demands are acceded to. It may, therefore, be admitted that the French have an ascendency over the minds of Moorish officials, and a preponderance in dealing with this Government as contrasted with other foreign Legations. How can it be otherwise. France occupies the neighbouring State of Algeria, and has a large force there, ready at any time to march across the frontier. The Sultan knows that he has no means of resisting a French invasion. These facts suffice to give the French Legation a preponderance.

In affording these explanations, I beg to add that it would not only be repugnant to my feelings to take advantage of the weakness of this Government, and impose our behests regardless of their rights, especially as I am convinced that Her Majesty's Government would not approve or support me if I was to separate myself from the line of conduct I have hitherto pursued in my dealings both with the Sultan's Ministers and with the local authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—I have just been informed that M. Ordega attaches such importance to the letter of the Director of the Sûs and North African Company, as testifying to the preponderating influence he has obtained, and to the neglect of British interests, that he has caused a translation to be made of it into French for transmission to Paris, and for

publication in the "Réveil du Maroc," a newspaper printed in Tangier, and supposed to receive a subvention from the French Legation. M. Ordega, it is said, frequently writes the leading articles in the journal, which trumpet forth the civilising and beneficial influence of France and of his proceedings, and reflects, on the other hand, on the torpid action of the Representatives of other Powers, especially of Great Britain, in Morocco. The other local paper, "Al-Moghreb Al-aksa," generally echoes the opinion of the "Réveil," the editor being on intimate terms with members of the French Legation.

J. H. D. H.

Inclosure 1 in No. 44.

Extract from the "Al-moghreb Al-aksa" of March 9, 1884.

To the Editor of the "Al-moghreb Al-aksa."

Sir,

London, February 24, 1884.

HOWEVER distasteful comparisons may be as a rule, we cannot help drawing them as aggrieved parties whose dignity and national pride are wounded. The results reported in the general press of the successful issue of French negotiations in Morocco makes us feel awfully small and humble at our comparative insignificance in the eyes of the world.

Turn whichever way you please, there is not a corner in the whole Globe where the name of Englishmen stands second to any other, except in Morocco, a paltry State which owes its independence, its very existence, we may say, to England's paternal counsel and influence, as it is an uncontested and incontestable fact that were the British Lion's watchful eye withdrawn from over Morocco, then goodbye independence or existence of the long-coveted and easy prey such as Morocco is.

What do we get in return from this petted and spoilt child?

Italy shows her teeth and gets at a moment's notice what England apparently sues for in vain for years. Spain only thinks of whispering her wishes and they are satisfied. Germany asks and has; Portugal demands and is equally satisfied; America insists and gets redress; and France has but to lift her finger to vindicate its own rights and open the road for all other nations who like to follow in her wake. And what does England? She looks on, advises Morocco and coaches it out of its self-made difficulties, in other words, encourages effete political principles which, if chastised in time might cease for the benefit of all civilized Powers. Admitting that England's influence or the balance of power require her indirect protection to Morocco, can that be a sufficient reason for the degradation of British name? Does such a policy justify her subjects holding the most abject position among other foreign residents without redress? The fact of being known as an Englishman, which serves as a passport in all parts of the world, is sufficient to make your claims disregarded, however just in their nature, your representations treated with indifference, your interests sacrificed, and your rights outraged. Worst of all our misfortunes, it suffices for a Moor, however unprincipled and immoral, to make a statement for your declaration as an Englishman to be discredited, and your case rejected from the Foreign Office down to the lowest Vice-Consulate! When your case is indisputable you fare no better, as if taken in hand it is invariably intrusted to the care of scheming interlopers who occupy no official post and yet pretend to be England's agents, though her representative repudiates the man officially and employs him privately.

In such hands the clearest cases are so twisted and disfigured that in nine out of ten the very parties interested can make nothing out of them, and with an aching heart give up every hope of ultimate redress. If you refer to the Foreign Office you are sent back to the very officers complained of, and have to suffer all kind of humiliation and reproach for presuming to complain while the Foreign Secretary thinks his duty as an Englishman has been done towards his country and countrymen, by throwing you back into the lion's den, tied hand and foot. If again your interests are, so to say, defended, how is that done? Where other Powers insist and demand their rights, England asks it as a boon, and the wily Moor with his prevarications and subterfuges humbugs you, *ad vitam eternam*, and laughs in his sleeve at your simplicity for believing what he says.

As an example take the result of the foreign Embassies to Morocco. Two years ago promises were made simultaneously to England and France, promises which were to be fulfilled in six months from the time they were given. These promises were redeemed with regard to France, punctually to the day, while English claim remains unnoticed.

Better still. Italy comes in months afterwards and obtains what was promised England, whose subjects have to live and pay their creditors with false official assurances.

Yet we know that when British prestige is invoked immediate satisfaction is given in Morocco as in all other countries; but these are isolated cases, more especially made for official satellites and hangers on, who have neither right nor title to British intervention and are officiously protected as friends or servants of somebody. Indeed, why should we stand in Morocco lower than any other foreign subjects? Are our commercial interests inferior or our Treaties weaker; have we not the right of the most favoured nations? Are our guns of inferior weight or metal, our powder colder and our ships smaller than other nations? Have we no gallant soldiers and sailors to enforce our claims in Morocco as they have done elsewhere? Then why should we be treated with less respect? why should not our Foreign Office resent the ignominous treatment of British subjects?

The fact is, the Foreign Office seems to have taken up the attitude of the circumlocution department, and is so determined not to do it; that every trivial report from a Moorish official, who only speaks the truth by mistake, is taken in preference to an Englishman's declaration upon oath, even when the Moor's reports are only verbal. To such fabrications and tissues of falsehood Englishmen's interests are invariably sacrificed, their rights trampled on and their best feelings of national pride laid low as the dust, thanks to the persistent credulity of English Government employés, who will not take the trouble of investigating.

Thanks again to this blind policy, while England stands highest in commercial statistics of Morocco, there is hardly one English resident who can boast of prosperity in his commerce, yet all other foreign subjects, be they French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, or German, get to the top of the tree in comparatively short time. It is nevertheless undoubted that British traders are not less energetic, less enterprising, or poorer merchants than their foreign neighbours, and what makes the anomaly more strange is the fact that the former generally come backed up with capital which they lose, while the latter seldom bring any and prosper.

Such facts are sufficient to call for an enquiry by the British Chambers of Commerce, who should do it through the Government direct and not through the Foreign Office, whose uppermost ideas are diplomatic relations, which it upholds while neglecting the backbone of England's prosperity, her commerce; and by grasping at the shadow lets go the substance and gets laughed at by the Moor who derisively thinks "what fools these English are to believe all I say."

As further proofs of how British interests are trifled with, let me draw a sketch of the Sûs and North African Trading Company's ill-usage, not only by the Moorish Government, but by the authorities at home who take for granted any Moor's statement based on false reports and devoid of all foundation.

Every one in Morocco knows that the Sûs districts south of Agadir have from time immemorial been independent of the Sultan's authority, as is proved by declarations made to Spain in 1861, when she demanded the execution of the Wad-Ras Treaty of Peace. In a despatch dated the 25th March, 1861, Señor Merry intimated to his Government the Sultan's declaration of having no authority over those districts. On the 22nd April, Muley Abbas declared again that his brother had no authority over the Regency of Soos, and Señor Merry asked his Government to treat direct with the Chiefs of that State which he qualified as "independiente de hecho." Again on the 2nd May, 1862, the same Plenipotentiary urges the importance of treating with the Chiefs, and on the 23rd and 30th June Señor Merry styles Soos a Republica.

In 1863 we again find the Sultan declaring his powerlessness to comply with Article VIII of the Treaty of Wad-Ras, owing to his having no power over that territory.

In the presence of such assurances and official declarations, some English traders concluded Treaties with the Chiefs to open a port at Ait Bou Amran, and subsequently sold their rights to an English Company, who sent out a steamer with cargo to Erksheesh in February 1883.

The Sultan of Morocco, forgetful of his father's declarations and the unfulfilled Treaty with Spain, pretended to have authority over Soos, and failing in its attempt to frighten the English traders away, the Moorish Government invited the Company's agent to a conference in Morocco city, and in the meanwhile incited the neighbouring tribes to plunder the Company's depôts.

This brought about a lengthened correspondence of which the following letters are the most important:—

"Gentlemen, "*Foreign Office, September* 22, 1883.

"With reference to the letter from this Office of the 16th August, I am directed by Earl Granville to acquaint you that a report has now been received from Mr. White, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tangiers, respecting the alleged plunder, at Erksheesh, of property belonging to the Sûs and North African Trading Company.

"It appears from a communication addressed to Mr. White by the Moorish Government, that the effects left by Mr. Curtis at Erksheesh have been taken possession of by the Kaid or Local Governor, by order of the Sultan, as contraband, an inventory copy of which has been forwarded to Mr. White, having been duly made; and that two Moorish subjects employed by Mr. Curtis have been arrested and sent to prison at Morocco for being engaged in an illegal traffic.

"I am to remind you that the Sûs and North African Company have been repeatedly warned, both by this officer and by notices inserted in the public press, that trading proceedings on the Soos coast are in contravention of the laws of Morocco, and that if the Company persisted in carrying them on, they could do so at their own risk and peril. And I am to call your special attention to the letter from this Office of the 12th December, 1881, in which the Company were warned 'that they must not expect protection from Her Majesty's Government in the event of any measure being taken by the Sultan to prevent illegal trading along the coast, under agreements with native Chiefs who have no authority to enter into them.'

"I am to state that under these circumstances Lord Granville must decline to take any action on your representations.

"I am, &c.
(Signed) "PHILIP W. CURRIE.

"Messrs. Mc Naught, Pearse, and Co.,
"9, Crosby Square, E.C."

"Gentlemen, "*Foreign Office, October* 18, 1883.

"I am directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 10th and 12th instant, having reference to the seizure, by the Moorish authorities in Soos, of property belonging to the Sûs and North African Trading Company, and to the imprisonment of some of their servants, and in reply, I am to refer you to the letter from this Office of the 22nd ultimo, and to state that Earl Granville regrets that for the reasons therein explained, he is unable to his decision not to interfere on behalf of the Company.

"I am, &c.
(Signed) "J. PAUNCEFOTE.

"To Messrs. Mc Naught, Pearse, and Co.,
"9, Crosby Square, E.C."

From the tenor of these letters it seems evident the Foreign Office relying on the mere word of Moorish officials, although these were made in contradiction of official declarations made to Spain, repudiated English traders' claims, and charged the Company with illegal traffic. If the Sultan had any authority, why did he not prevent the landing of the Company's goods? why did he not punish even one out of the forty or fifty Chiefs, whose signatures were attached to the Treaties, and publicly announced for over two years, before the Company embarked in what Mr. White styles illegal traffic?

The Foreign Office regardless of reason or even common sense, preferred to recognize and uphold the fictitious claims of a Government, whose only show of authority was its connivance with looters, instigated by its emissaries, in violation of every right. The most amusing part of the *embroglio* is this. Since the Company failed to get redress through the Foreign Office, it has appealed to greater authority, and when the British public and Chambers of Commerce expressed their just indignation, the Foreign Office roused from its apathy, throws the blame on the British Legation, who, in its turn, endorses it to the Moorish Government, as can be seen from the following documents, couched in a peculiar official style, which, nevertheless, does not exonerate British officials from responsibility for having put too much faith where they should not.

The letter acknowledges that "Her Majesty's Government was awaiting the official reply from the Moorish Government . . . . since up to the present time Her Majesty's Government had only received the reports of certain verbal communications, &c."

Sad to confess, sadder to hear. British property is looted, British traders treated as smugglers, and reported as being taken prisoners for illegal traffic, their servants kept in

dungeons, in contravention of the Treaties, without a trial or even an inquiry; and all that on the mere verbal report of a Moor, who will give a dozen falsehoods in less than as many minutes. Will not Englishmen blush at this, and wish they were Hottentots or Ashantees; in fact, anything but British, as long they have anything in common with Morocco?

Here is the famous epistle where the Foreign Office, in a roundabout way, confesses its neglect of duty:—

"Gentlemen, "*Foreign Office, February* 2, 1884.

"I am directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, inclosing a pamphlet relative to the treatment of the agents and servants of the Sûs and North African Trading Company by the Sultan of Morocco, and requesting that his Lordship's attention may be directed to the facts of the case as therein set forth.

"I am now to inform you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government are still awaiting the official reply of the Moorish Government to the representation which Sir J. D. Hay was instructed to make on the subject of your last application, since up to the present time Her Majesty's Government have only received the report of certain verbal communications which have passed between Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier and the Prime Minister of the Sultan on the subject.

"I am, &c.
(Signed) "J. PAUNCEFOTE."

It is an old saying and a true one, that "It is an ill wind that blows nobody good." Perhaps the ill-usage of the Company may after all be productive of some good to the British residents in Morocco. At all events, steps have at last been taken in the right direction, and commercial interests, if once placed under the protection of Chambers of Commerce, will be sure to fare better than at the hands of an Office, which, independently of its indifference to all that is not diplomatic, in most cases knows no more about commerce and its vicissitudes than about the philosopher's stone.

As our Chambers of Commerce seem to take the correct view of things, it is, I think, high time for British traders in Morocco to know where to apply for redress of their grievances. The public will see from the following two letters the London Chamber of Commerce does not throw up the sponge so quickly, and whichever may be the result to our Company, it is a satisfaction for all to know that Englishmen have the right and the power at their disposal to call officials to account for failing to duty.

"Dear Sir, "84-85, *King William Street, February* 12, 1884.

"I have this afternoon laid your letter of the 7th instant before my Executive Committee.

"It was decided to recommend to the Council that some action should be taken, and that, with a view to better informing the Executive Committee of the facts of the case, I am desired to ask you to attend the next meeting of that Committee.

"I shall therefore send you notice for this meeting in due course as soon as it is fixed, and meanwhile,

"Yours truly,
(Signed) "K. B. MURRAY,
"*Secretary London Chamber of Commerce.*

"E. Pearse, Esq.,
9, Crosby Square."

"Gentlemen, "*February* 15, 1884.

"Your papers were considered at the monthly Council meeting of this Chamber yesterday, when it was decided Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice should be asked, privately in the first instance, and officially afterwards, if necessary, as to the position of matters in Mogador and Sûs.

"I am in communication with the members of Parliament representing this Chamber as to who will undertake the matter, and as soon as I have found a willing mouthpiece I will place you in direct communication with that gentleman.

"Yours faithfully,
(Signed) "K. B. MURRAY,
"*Secretary London Chamber of Commerce.*

"Messrs. Mc Naught, Pearse, and Middleton,
"9, Crosby Square."

If I avail of your kind medium to give this publicity, I do so from a desire that Englishmen residing in Morocco may know that it only requires some firmness on their part, and a just cause to back, for their rights to be respected as much as those of other nations. I also wish that those of your readers who can either corroborate or refute my statements may come forward and enlighten the British public as to the "state of things in Denmark"—I was going to say Sodom and Gomorrah.

Yours obediently,
A Director of the Sûs and North African Trading Company.

Inclosure 2 in No. 44.

Vizier Mukhtar to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)
(Extract.) *Morocco, May* 7, 1882.

THE arrangement entered into regarding French claims is to be the basis of the arrangement with you regarding the claims of British subjects; no difference or preference whatsoever. The term fixed for the settlement of the French claims shall be the same as with you, without difference.

Inclosure 3 in No. 44.

Vizier Mukhtar to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)
(Extract.) *Morocco, May* 7, 1883.

TO sum up, our Lord has requested that you forward to the Shereefian Court the documentary evidence of the claims through Cid Mohammed Bargash. When received they will be promptly settled without delay.

Inclosure 4 in No. 44.

Vizier Mukhtar to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)
(Extract.) *Morocco, November* 25, 1883.

OUR Lord has desired me to reply that, with regard to the claims of British subjects, and their settlement as agreed upon with you, they shall be without doubt settled. His Shereefian Majesty has sent renewed orders to his Minister (Cid Mohammed Bargash) to hasten the investigation of the documents, and to forward them.

No. 45.

Sir R. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received March 19, 8 A.M.)

(No. 5.)
(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, March* 18, 1884, 5 P.M.

CAN I read confidentially to Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs last paragraph of your Lordship's despatch No. 183 of 28th February to Lord Lyons?

No. 46.

Earl Granville to Sir R. Morier.

(No. 2.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, March* 19, 1884.

YOUR telegram No. 5.
No objection.

No. 47.

Earl Granville to Sir R. Morier.

(No. 33. Ext. 2.)

Foreign Office, March 19, 1884.

Sir,

IN reply to your telegraphic inquiry, I have to state that I have no objection to your communicating confidentially to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs the substance of M. Waddington's language to me respecting the policy of France in Morocco, as recorded in the last paragraph of my despatch to Lord Lyons No. 183, Confidential, of the 28th February.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 48.

Sir R. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received March 22.)

(No. 38. Confidential.)

Madrid, March 15, 1884.

My Lord,

THE following story told me by the Duke of Tetuan in the course of a very confidential conversation possesses interest both of a general and special kind: of a general kind, because it is typical of the kind of career still open in this country to political adventurers; of a special kind, because it throws light on the character of the Shereef of Wazan, who is just now occupying public attention in connection with Morocco.

The Duke was criticizing the diplomatic appointments made by the present Ministry. He said that amongst them was one which was as bad as any of those which had disgraced the Revolutionary period, viz., that of Señor Alba Salcedo, the editor of the "Patria," a rabid Conservative journal, to the post of Minister in China.

The following was this gentleman's career:—

Beginning life as a corporal of marines, he quitted that employment and took to gambling operations on the Bourse, in which he was successful. He then went into Parliament and founded the "Patria," a paper which distinguished itself by the incisiveness of its style and the cynicism with which it sold itself to the highest bidder, and alternately served and attacked all parties alike. For some considerable time, however, it had been faithful to the Conservative cause, and furnished it with the monopoly of its invective.

Whilst thus ostensibly occupied with journalistic and Parliamentary business, Señor Salcedo was, according to the national custom, using both to better his financial circumstances, and that with such success that he is now accounted a very wealthy man.

The following was a specimen of his *modus operandi*:—

The Shereef of Wazan, despite his great religious prestige derived from his supposed descent from the Prophet, and which the Duke of Tetuan stated enabled him to collect large pecuniary contributions from the Orthodox Moors, had spent much time and money at Paris, where he had contracted large debts and the habit of drinking champagne. Returning to Morocco by way of Madrid, Señor Salcedo singled him out as suitable material for speculation purposes, made his acquaintance, gave him a magnificent banquet, at which he met many great political personages, and produced upon him the effect that he, Señor Salcedo, was a person possessed of the highest influence with the Spanish Government. It was then no difficult matter for him to convince this Parisian Moor that there was a fine stroke of business to be done. The actual state of affairs could not continue in Morocco. Everything tended to show that a catastrophe was imminent, and that the rule of the Sultan was doomed. The Spanish Government were entirely pre-occupied with the solution to be given to the catastrophe when it occurred. They could not openly or by diplomatic means prepare for this eventuality, and had accordingly commissioned him to work secretly towards a solution. This was an opportunity not to be lost by ambitious and capable men like his Highness and himself.

The Shereef fell completely into the trap, and the following extraordinary plot was worked out between the confederates. The Shereef was to organize an attack upon the Spanish Legation at Tangier, whose occupants were to be massacred. This would afford the necessary pretext for marching a Spanish army into Tangier, whilst, on his side, the Shereef rose against the Sultan and drove him from his throne; on

religious grounds, Spain would then make common cause with the Shereef, and n to show his gratitude, would cede Tetuan and a large portion of northern Morocco to his protectors.

The conspiracy was managed with such consummate ability by Señor Salcedo, that the General Commanding at Ceuta and a Spanish Consular Agent were, without being admitted into the *penetralia* of the plot, made sufficiently acquainted with it to place them in communication with the Shereef, thus confirming the latter's belief that he was dealing throughout with the Spanish Government. A Levantine Interpreter to the Legation at Tangier, named Comandari, appears to have been one of the initiated.

The negotiations were carried on for some months, during which for each supposed communication made to the Spanish Government, and every step taken in furtherance of the Shereef's views, Señor Salcedo received from him payment in hard cash. But his Highness began to get impatient, and the game could not be continued indefinitely. It had to be brought to a crisis, which was done in the following fashion.

The Shereef was induced to write an autograph letter to the King of Spain, in which reference was made, without going into detail, to the arrangement supposed to have already been accepted by His Majesty, and the Interpreter Comandari, personating a Moorish Sheikh, arrived as Ambassador from the Shereef with the letter at La Granja, where the Court was staying. He was actually presented to the King by Señor Salcedo, and delivered his letter. This letter, in Arabic, was duly handed over by the King to the Duke of Tetuan, who was then Foreign Minister. The Duke had for some time been on the traces of the conspiracy, and the letter at once made all clear to him. The interpreter, who was not a Spanish subject, and could not otherwise be punished, was at once dismissed, the Vice-Consul sent off to Tunis, and the General at Ceuta appointed to a non-African post.

I asked why Señor Salcedo had not been shown up and punished. The reply was that it would have been difficult to establish exact proofs; that other and more important persons would have been compromised, and lastly, that there was no wish to make Moorish affairs worse confounded by telling the world that so important a man as the Shereef of Wazan was conspiring against the Sultan. In a word, so cleverly had the whole thing been managed, that Señor Salcedo felt sure from the first that every nerve would be strained to hush it up. The Duke had taken pains to ascertain what had been the exact money value of the plot to Señor Salcedo, and had convinced himself that from first to last he had got certainly not less than 160,000 fr. out of the Shereef, the largest contribution having been extracted for managing to deliver the autograph letter to the King, which was to bring the entire *fourberie* to its close.

The Duke of Tetuan told me he felt almost sure that he had related the story at the time to Mr. West. I looked up the correspondence, and found that Mr. West had not then been at Madrid, and that all that the Duke had said to Mr. Wyndham, who was then Chargé d'Affaires, was not to believe a word of what was being said in the newspapers in connection with Spanish plans in Morocco. But amongst this correspondence I found a remarkable despatch from Mr. Wyndham (No. 143 of the 21st August, 1879), stating that an unknown individual had called at the Legation, and volunteered to furnish the details of an important conspiracy going on in Morocco. He is told that Her Majesty's Legation do not pay for information of this kind, but that Mr. Macpherson will be glad to hear any statement he has to make, and he accordingly (as Mr. Macpherson's Memorandum of the conversation shows) tells the story I have related above, as regards all the principal incidents of the supposed plot, in exactly the same terms as it was told me by the Duke of Tetuan, except that the object appears to have been to show that the King was much bitten with the project, and was in fact one of the conspirators.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

No. 49.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received March 24.)

(No. 20.)

Tangier, March 14, 1884.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit an extract from a French journal, in which it is surmised that, when the questions in Tonquin are settled, the French Government intends to annex territory on the eastern frontier of Morocco, where, the writer says, a "Kroumir" tribe will be discovered.

M. Ordega, in the course of conversation with a colleague, mentioned that it would be necessary to rectify their frontier and advance it so as to include the Moulouya River. On the wall of his bureau is a map of Morocco and Algeria, in which the present frontier line is printed, but a new line has recently been drawn on that map, which includes the Moulouya River and other territory.

I do not consider that British interests would be in any way affected if the French were to advance the frontier to the westward of the present demarcation; but once the dismemberment of Morocco is commenced by its powerful neighbour we may expect that, in the course of a few years, annexation will follow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 49.

Extract from the "Salut Public de Lyon" of January 18, 1884.

LA situation est donc très sombre et très menaçante.

C'est sans doute pour la rasséréner qu'il y a . . . . . une nouvelle expédition à l'horizon.

Attendez-vous, cela est sérieux, à une entreprise du côté du Maroc.

Elle serait présentée, comme celle des Khroumirs, sous le jour d'un service à rendre à l'Empereur du Maroc, impuissant à faire la police chez lui.

Les nouveaux Khroumirs sont ceux du Maroc oriental, confinant au sud Oranais et ayant pour quartier général l'oasis de Figuing.

Cette aventure qu'on réservait pour le jour où le Tonkin serait pacifié, aura été brusquée par la certitude que l'on croit avoir d'une tentative prochaine de l'Espagne sur Tanger.

No. 50.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received March 24.)

(No. 21.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 14, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 5 of the 4th instant on the subject of the protection lately granted by the French Government to the Shereef of Wazan on account of services which he had rendered to France in frontier questions with the tribes of Morocco, and directing me to ascertain and report to your Lordship whether the services said to have been rendered had been stated beforehand by the French Government to the Moorish Government in accordance with Article XVI of the Madrid Convention.

In an interview I had yesterday with Cid Mohammed Bargash, who had called upon me, I inquired whether he had received from M. Ordega a notification regarding the intention of the French Government to afford protection to the Shereef, as is laid down by the Convention of Madrid. Cid Mohammed Bargash repeated the language he had held to me on the 20th January last,* viz., that a letter had been addressed to him by M. Ordega, stating that he had received instructions from Paris, directing him to inform the Sultan that the Shereef Hadj Abdesselam of Wazan had been taken under French protection on account of the services he had rendered to France in frontier questions with the tribes of Morocco; that he called upon the French Minister before replying to this communication, and pointed out the serious injury which would be inflicted upon the Sultan's authority, in the hope of dissuading him from taking the Shereef under protection; but that M. Ordega told him clearly that the French Government would not recede from their decision, and that no question could be raised regarding a right ceded by Treaty.

Cid Mohammed Bargash told me that he had pointed out to M. Ordega that any services which had been rendered by the Shereef in frontier questions were services rendered to his rightful Sovereign the Sultan, as he had been dispatched by His Shereefian Majesty to Algeria and thence to the frontier to induce the tribes, through his (the Shereef's) spiritual influence, to abstain from committing raids on the Algerian territory.

* See my despatch No. 7, Secret, of January 20, 1884 (*ante*, No. 23).

M. Ordega declined to listen to these arguments, and gave Cid Mohammed Bargash, in peremptory language, to understand that a refusal on the part of the Moorish Government to accede to their demand might bring about very serious consequences.

I took the opportunity of pointing out to Cid Mohammed Bargash that, according to Treaty, protection does not extend to adult members of the family of a protected person, and certainly not to his dependents and followers. Cid Mohammed Bargash replied, "We cannot and dare not oppose the will of the French Government, be it right or wrong."

I was shown yesterday an interesting letter from a foreign Consular officer at Laraiche, who reports that, though the Shereef's conduct in placing himself under the protection of France had at first tended to lower him in the estimation of the Mohammedan population, a great change had latterly come over their minds, for they now say, "The Shereef of Wazan is a Saint upon earth, whom God inspires, and the Almighty has led him to take the initiative in placing himself under the ægis of France to forewarn all Mussulmans in Morocco that their destiny also is to be under the rule of that Power." These sentiments I find prevail also amongst many respectable Moors at Tangier.

The Consular officer further said that the Shereef had Agents in the neighbouring districts of Laraiche engaged in inducing the inhabitants to place their lands in his hands, and that there was an eager desire on the part of many farmers to take advantage of it, in the hope of evading the payment of taxes or other dues to the Moorish Government.

He stated also that, since the Shereef Hadj Abdesselam had obtained French protection, his son, who is in charge of the sanctuary at Wazan, had arrested and flogged some soldiers or police of the Governor of Wazan, Cid Mohammed Gebbar, who is also a Shereef and near relative of Hadj Abdesselam, and that this Governor, finding his authority set at nought, had left the town.

If these reports are correct, they tend to show that the dissolution of all Government in this country and of the authority of the Sultan is taking place far more rapidly than was to be expected from the extraordinary act of the French Government in giving protection to the great spiritual Chief of Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 51.

*Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.**

(No. 263. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 25, 1884.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your confidential information, copies of despatches, as marked in the margin,† from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid relative to Spain and Morocco.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 52.

Earl Granville to Sir J. S. Lumley.

(No. 62.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 28, 1884.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch, as marked in the margin,‡ relative to France and Morocco.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* Also to Lord Ampthill, No. 67, Confidential; Sir S. Lumley, No. 58, Confidential; Sir J. Drummond Hay, No. 9, Confidential.

† Nos. 41, 42, and 43.

‡ No. 40.

No. 53.

*Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.**

(No. 275.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 29, 1884.

I TRANSMIT herewith to your Excellency copies of despatches, as marked in the margin,† relative to France and Morocco, for your information.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 54.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received March 31.)

(No. 23.)

My Lord, *Tangier, March* 22, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 8 of the 13th instant, transmitting, for my information, copies of further correspondence with the agents of the Sûs and North African Company, who had requested your Lordship to direct me to furnish Mr. Cohen, their agent at Tangier, with a letter to the Sultan or his Minister, so that Mr. Cohen may personally endeavour to obtain a settlement of the claims of the Company upon the Moorish Government.

Mr. Cohen is the editor of the French journal, published weekly at Tangier, called the "Réveil du Maroc." This journal is supposed to receive a subvention from the French Legation, and I believe the leading articles are frequently written by M. Ordega, or, at any rate, under his inspiration or guidance. The aim of this journal is to proclaim the ascendency of France in Morocco and the great benefits conferred on the civilized world by M. Ordega's acts, and to stigmatize the action of other Powers and of their Representatives as being obstructive, and opposed to the interests of the civilized world by seeking to uphold the independence of the Sultan and his Government. The "Reveil" frequently describes, and sometimes deservedly, the acts of the Moorish Government and of their officials in opprobrious terms; but the editor knows that there is no censor of the press in this wretched country, and that he is under the ægis of France.

I will not conceal from your Lordship that I am inclined to think, from various passages in the letter* of the Director of the Sûs and North African Company, dated the 24th ultimo, which has been published in the "Reveil," that M. Ordega has taken some underhand part in encouraging the Sûs and North African Company, through their agent, Mr. Cohen, in their attack upon the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and especially upon my conduct as regards British interests.

In the numerous despatches I have addressed Her Majesty's Government respecting the proceedings of Mr. McKenzie at Cape Juby, and of the Sûs and North African Company, it will be found that I have generally upheld the claim of the Sultan of Morocco to be Sovereign over the Soos territory as far south as the River Drâa, which is marked in all maps as the southern boundary of Morocco. In letters addressed to the Sultans of Morocco by British and other foreign Sovereigns, Soos is frequently mentioned as one of their Principalities. In the year 1845 or 1846, when the Commander of a French vessel-of-war, Captain Bouet, visited the Soos coast, and entered into a Treaty with Sheikh Beirook, of Wadnoon, for the cession of a port, an interpellation was made by Her Majesty's Government, which brought about a disavowal by the French Government of the act of this officer.

Sultan Mulai Hassan asserted his temporal sway over Soos when, in 1882, he marched a large army into that country, and received the submission of the greater part of the tribes; whilst His Majesty still holds to his intention of opening a port, and, now that the tribes have submitted to his rule, has offered to cede to the Spanish Government the port they had selected near Ifni, but which the Spanish Government most wisely hesitate to accept.

As to the correspondence of Mr. Merry, who was the Representative of Spain after the war of 1861, to which the Director of the Sûs and North African Company refers, wherein Mr. Merry is said to have declared that the Sultan had admitted that he had no control over the Soos people, and could not therefore cede the port to Spain, it was ultimately shown that the Sultan did accept all the responsibility as Sovereign of that

* Also to Sir R. Morier (No. 39).

† Nos. 49 and 50.

No. 54*.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(*Received March* 31.)

(No. 76. Secret.)

Berlin, March 25, 1884.

My Lord,

MY Spanish colleague asked me the other day whether I had heard anything here or from home about French proceedings in Morocco. His Government felt alarmed, he said, at the apparent desire of the French Government to raise questions which could serve as an excuse for interference in Morocco, and although he had sounded Count Hatzfeldt on the subject, he had only met with the usual reserve and reticence. I said that I had heard some time since of a Count de Chavagnac, whose claim to travel in Reef had been supported by the French Minister at Tangiers, but that I had never heard the question even alluded to at the German Foreign Office.

Count Benomar observed that, as one of the few Spaniards who had travelled in Reef, he could assert that any attempt on the part of French travellers to dwell there must inevitably lead to difficulties, and possibly also to demands for redress, and that he fully shared in the anxiety felt by his Government in the matter.

Some days later an allusion was made to Morocco by my French colleague in private conversation, and I found an opportunity of asking him incidentally what truth there was in a report I had heard about an intrepid explorer called Chavagnac, who wanted to travel in Reef.

Baron de Courcel smiled, and said that many idle stories about French intrigues in Morocco had been put in circulation by the Spaniards, whose wish to establish an excuse for interference in Morocco had been much encouraged by the "friendly advances" made to Spain by Prince Bismarck.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AMPTHILL.

country, by repaying the Spanish Government, at their demand, the ransom money claimed by Sheikh Beirook for the liberation of the Spanish captives detained by him.

When Mr. Curtis, the agent of the Sûs and North African Company, passed through Tangier last year, he had an interview with M. Ordega, and, I am therefore led to suppose, was encouraged by him to press the claim of the Company for indemnity on account of the confiscation of the merchandize landed on the Soos coast.

It may be asked what object M. Ordega could have had in meddling in this affair? To me it is evident. His hope or expectation was that the British Government would support the Sûs and North African Company in their pretensions, on the ground that the Sultan cannot claim Soos as part of his dominions. This first step towards destroying the integrity of the Empire, by declaring that where the Sultan has no power of control his sovereignty cannot be admitted, would be a very important precedent for M. Ordega, who openly speaks of his desire to destroy the integrity of Morocco, and to commence this by seeking for an alteration of the frontier, and by annexing to Algeria portions of the Sultan's dominions.

M. Ordega's policy and views are antagonistic to mine. His aim is to destroy the little authority possessed by the Sultan and the integrity of his dominions; mine has been to endeavour to preserve the territorial *status quo*, not from any feeling of sympathy for a Government which I have frequently described as being the worst in the world, but on account of the policy, and I may almost say the necessity, that England should never allow France to be master of the Straits of Gibraltar, by annexing Morocco or even establishing a Protectorate over it.

The French Government may be sincere in giving satisfactory assurances to Her Majesty's Government, but the action of their agents and the policy pursued is in direct contradiction of these assurances

Mr. Cohen is a British subject, and has occasionally addressed communications to newspapers, in which my conduct of affairs and policy were attacked: he was no doubt on that account selected by M. Ordega as a fit channel for making known his views to the public. I trust, therefore, that whatever decision may be come to by Her Majesty's Government, I may never be directed to have any communication with Mr. Cohen.

I have thought it advisable not to take any notice of the leading articles in the "Réveil du Maroc," which are, as I have said, evidently written or inspired by M. Ordega, further than to tell colleagues, who have called my attention to them, that they are too contemptible, from their mis-statements and falsehoods, to deserve notice or even perusal.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 55.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received April* 2.)

(No. 24. Secret.)

Tangier, March 24, 1884.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 7 of the 8th instant, transmitting the substance of a despatch from Count Nigra to M. Mancini, in which it is suggested that some steps might be taken by the Governments of Great Britain, Italy, and Spain to represent to the French Government the complications which might ensue from the action of their Representative at Tangier.

With reference to this subject I have now the honour to transmit the translation of a secret letter addressed to me by the Vizier Mukhtar, by order of the Sultan, in which His Shereefian Majesty solicits the friendly action of Her Majesty's Government to "ward off the danger which threatens His Majesty's dominions, and stop the hand of the enemy from being laid on them."

The Vizier does not mention who is the enemy, but there is no doubt that France is the Power alluded to. The Vizier observes that it is needless for him to make known to me what has occurred, as "it is manifest to all."

The proceedings of M. Ordega in affording protection to the Great Shereef of Wazan, and to his family and dependents, contrary to Treaty, and in having insisted that French citizens should be allowed to travel in the lawless country of Reef, where the Sultan has little or no power of control, and the general menacing and dictatorial

* See Inclosure 1 in No. 44.

attitude which M. Ordega assumes in treating with the Sultan's Ministers or Governors, or with other local authorities, have no doubt given rise to grave apprehensions on the part of the Sultan, that the object of the French Government is to seek for a pretext for breaking off relations, and finally to take possession of the country.

In the passage where the Vizier states that Regulations are infringed he no doubt refers to the stipulations of the Convention of Madrid, which has become a dead letter in every respect, the French having set the example in showing a total disregard for the terms of the stipulations, and their example having been followed by the Representatives of other Powers, Great Britain included, who claim to be placed on the footing of the most favoured nation. The Regulations about taxation are not carried into execution, and the Moorish authorities dare not enforce them so long as foreign Consular officers, especially the French, refuse to allow that persons under their protection be required to pay taxes.

At the meetings of the foreign Representatives at Tangier, both before and after the Madrid Conference, it will be found by the language I then held that I foresaw the evils which have ensued from the extension of protection, and I foretold that it would finally tend to subvert all government in this country.

On the 20th instant M. Ordega dispatched M. Blondel, one of the Secretaries of Legation, and the Chancellor, M. Bertrand, to Wazan, to inquire into the claim of the Shereef on account of loss of property there caused by the proceedings of Governor Cid Mohammed Gebbar: these officers have been directed to take note of the names of all the dependents, and of the lands of the Shereef, not only at Wazan, but in other parts of the Gharb. It is reported that they have been authorized to proceed to the Moorish Court if proper attention is not shown to the demands they may put forward.

I learn confidentially from a reliable source that the Shereef talks openly of arming his numerous followers, and of resisting any attempt of the authorities to control his dependents. He declares that he has accepted French protection, as he foresees the downfall of the Sultan's power, and that this country must ere long fall into the hands of France, and that he will do all in his power to bring about that catastrophe.

Though the French Government will, no doubt, continue to afford satisfactory assurances to Her Majesty's Government regarding their desire to maintain the *status quo*, and not to give rise to complications by their action in Morocco, I will not conceal from your Lordship that I cannot believe in their sincerity so long as they allow, and apparently encourage, their Minister and officers to show an utter disregard for the independence of the Sultan and the authority of his officers. At any time, when least expected, it is to be apprehended that M. Ordega may take some extreme step from which the French Government will declare they cannot recede, knowing that public opinion in France would support them.

Under these circumstances, I venture to submit that no time should be lost in coming to an understanding with other Powers regarding the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Morocco, occupying by its northern sea-board the passage to the Mediterranean for the shipping and commerce of all nations. If the Powers of Europe and America entered into an international arrangement by which the integrity of Morocco would be upheld and the independence of its Sovereign maintained, that would be a fitting time to require, and even to insist, that the Sultan and his Government should introduce reforms and improvements for the benefit of the civilized world, and open to foreign enterprise the great resources of this country, rich in agricultural produce and minerals.

I have not as yet acknowledged the receipt of the letter of the Vizier, but when I do so I shall simply request him to inform the Sultan that I have transmitted to Her Majesty's Government a translation of his communication.

It occurs to me to mention that it might be possible, if the Sultan was led to apprehend that neither Great Britain nor other Powers are disposed to come to his relief by taking steps to check the action of France, which has tended to paralyze his authority and to subvert all government in the country, His Shereefian Majesty, losing all hope, may come to the conclusion that his best policy will be to seek for the Protectorate of France, and thus remove for a time the prospect of his dominions being taken possession of and annexed to Algeria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 55.

The Vizier to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)
(Secret.)
(After usual compliments.) *I Jumada* 15, 1301 (*March* 14, 1883).

YOU are aware, O esteemed friend, that famine, caused by years of dearth, had brought great distress and misery upon God's creatures in these dominions; and you must also know how all Regulations have been infringed, and in treating affairs all authority has been disregarded, until patience is lost, and it only remains for the enemy to lay his hands (upon the country). It is needless to make known to you what has occurred; it is manifest and known to all.

Our Lord the Sultan has ordered us to address you this secret communication, in order that you may write to your powerful Government and inform them of the grave prejudice which is suffered, and that you may solicit, in the name of His Shereefian Majesty, that steps be taken to ward off the danger that threatens these dominions, and stop the hand of the enemy being laid on.

His Shereefian Majesty is not inclined to seek for counsel in this matter except from them (Her Majesty's Government), as being the most friendly of friends, the most reliable of those to be relied on, and the most judicious, with whom counsel can be taken. How could it be otherwise? for the English were always the true and friendly allies of His Majesty's ancestors.

Let us know what you may write upon this subject.

Finished I Jumada 15, 1301.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN ALARBI BEN EL MUKHTAR.

No. 56.

Earl Granville to Sir R. Morier.

(No. 41. Secret.)

Foreign Office, April 2, 1884.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin relative to France and Morocco.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 57.

Earl Granville to Sir J. S. Lumley.

(No. 65.)

Foreign Office, April 3, 1884.

Sir,

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and informed me that the Italian Minister at Tangier reported the almost open rebellion of the Shereef of Wazan under the protection of France.

It appeared, his Excellency said, that the Shereef and all his family and dependents had been taken under French protection. They amounted in all to a number of persons out of all proportion to the number which, according to the Convention of Madrid of July 1810, it was permissible to each Power so to protect.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 58.

Earl Granville to Sir J. S. Lumley.

(No. 66. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, April 3, 1884.

Sir,

THE Italian Ambassador, in conversing with me on the state of affairs in Morocco this afternoon, told me confidentially that the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs had informed the Italian Minister at Madrid that the Sultan of Morocco had become much

* No. 54*.

alarmed by the manner in which the Shereef of Wazan was taking the airs of a Pretender at the instigation of France, and that he appeared to be inclined to throw himself upon the protection of France.

The Spanish Foreign Minister added that in order to avoid the risk of an eventual rupture and serious complications it would, in his opinion, be well that England, Italy, and Spain should come to an understanding, firstly, to endeavour to maintain the *status quo* in Morocco; and, secondly, to assert the competency of Europe to interfere in the event of the *status quo* being threatened.

Count Nigra added that the information received from the Italian Minister at Tangier tended to confirm these views.

The Italian Government, his Excellency said, were desirous of coming to an understanding with Her Majesty's Government on the subject. They would prefer that we should take the initiative, but they would be ready to join in taking an attitude which should make clear to the French Government the complications and dangers to which they would expose themselves by any attempt to interfere with the *status quo* in Morocco, and in endeavouring to obtain from that Government an explicit declaration confirming the assurances which had already been given to me, although in general terms, by M. Waddington, and of which I had confidentially informed his Excellency.

I told M. Nigra that the matter was one of a delicate character; that I could not give him an answer at once; that I did not see why this country should take the initiative. But, in the meanwhile, I would ask M. Waddington himself whether, after reporting to M. Ferry the substance of our confidential communication, M. Ferry had confirmed the assurances which M. Waddington had personally given me.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 59.

Sir R. Morier to Earl Granville.—(*Received April* 5.)

(No. 48. Confidential.)
My Lord. *Madrid, March* 31, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 33 extending your telegram No. 2 of the 19th instant, which authorizes me to read part of one of your Lordship's despatches on the subject of Morocco to the Minister of State, and to inform you that the said cyphered telegram No. 2 has never reached me.

Having received no reply to my despatch No. 32 of the 6th instant, and your Lordship's despatch No. 123 of the 7th December last leaving me little option as to communicating correspondence on Moorish affairs to the Spanish Government, I have not deemed myself at liberty to speak to the Spanish Ministers on the subject, or in any way to acquaint them with the attitude taken up by Her Majesty's Government with regard to it, as made known to me in the detailed correspondence of which I have lately been favoured with copies.

I have now spoken to Señor Elduayen on the subject, and have learnt from his Excellency that the Marquis de Casa Laiglesia had been in communication with your Lordship on the question, and had apparently been told the same thing as Count Nigra reports having heard from your Lordship.

I received yesterday an urgent private note from Señor Elduayen, inclosing copy of a telegram he had just received, and of which I transmit the inclosed translation.

As I felt sure that, if the matter were of the urgency described, Sir J. Drummond Hay would have equally telegraphed to your Lordship, I did not deem it necessary to send on this telegram.

The Spanish Government are very much alarmed at the present state of affairs, and I do not doubt will instruct their Minister in London to make known to your Lordship their wishes as to the best way of meeting the present complication.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

Inclosure in No. 59.

The Spanish Minister at Tangier to Señor Elduayen.

(Translation.)
(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, March* 29, 1884.

ARTICLE VI of Madrid Convention violated in a manner which will render exercise of Muley Hassan's authority impossible. Attitude of Shereef of Wazan, to judge by his demonstrations and language, rebellious. French Commission assembled at Wazan have decided question between Shereef and Pasha Governor publicly, and in a manner incompatible with the sovereignty of Morocco and with existing Treaties. It is asserted at Fez that large forces are being collected in Algeria. Everything leads to the fear that the Sultan is threatened both within and without his dominions.

No. 60.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received April* 9.)

(No. 25. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 29, 1884.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 21 of the 14th instant on the subject of the protection granted by the French Government to the Great Shereef of Wazan, M. Diosdado read to me a despatch from the Spanish Vice-Consul at Laraiche, giving an account of the proceedings of the French Secretary of Legation and Chancelier, who had been dispatched to Wazan to inquire into the conduct of the Governor of that town, Cid Mohammed Gebbar, towards Hadj Abdesselam, the Great Shereef of Wazan.

It appears that the French officers summoned the Governor to appear at the Court of the Cadi, where they were assembled, together with a number of Notables of the town. The Governor refused to attend the summons. The result of the inquiry is said to have been that the Governor's conduct was condemned, and twelve members of Hadj Abdesselam's family were dispatched to the Court to require that the Governor, Cid Mohammed Gebbar, be removed from office.

The action of the French Secretary and Chancelier in superseding, as it were, the authority of the Sultan's officers, is said to have created a great effect upon the townspeople, who are partizans of the Great Shereef, and who, it appears, have been given to understand that they would be taken under French protection.

It is reported that three tribes of the mountainous districts in the neighbourhood of Wazan have signified their intention of not obeying the orders of the Governors appointed by the Sultan, and of submitting solely to orders emanating from the Shereef Hadj Abdesselam.

As this Shereef has made known that all persons in charge of his property are to be placed under French protection, it is reported that large numbers of Moors in various districts have come forward to declare that they hold property of the Shereef, and that note is taken at the French Legation of the names of all these persons.

If this state of affairs continues the Sultan will lose all power of control over his subjects, and the Shereef may ere long appear as a Pretender to the Throne, which, it is said, is openly spoken of.

It is reported by the Spanish Vice-Consul that the French have assembled a force in the neighbourhood of Ain Shaïr,* and that it is the intention of the French Government to demand a rectification of frontier.

M. Montfraix, the French Secretary of Legation, in conversing with a member of the Spanish Legation, observed that as it was the intention of the French Government, in rectifying their frontier, to leave a zone in the northern districts of Morocco, which would satisfy the Spanish Government that they have no intention of taking possession of territory upon the Straits and the Mediterranean, the latter can have no grounds for complaint.

The son of the Shereef Hadj Abdesselam is reported to have met the officers of the

* Ain Shaïr, as marked in the maps, is about lat. 32° 20′ north, long. 3° west of Greenwich. I do not suppose that the French have assembled forces in that district, which is within the Sultan's dominions; though possibly a force may have been assembled on the frontier.

French Legation with a body of about 800 armed men, cavalry and infantry, and to have conducted them with great rejoicings and festivities into the town of Wazan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 61.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 10.)

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, April 9, 1884.*

OFFICER arrived from Sultan ordered to communicate with French, German, Spanish, and British Ministers regarding critical state of affairs caused by protection afforded to Shereef of Wazan and other persons by French. Officer had secret interview with me this morning; sees French this afternoon, and other Ministers to-morrow. Sultan declares that he cannot govern country if a stop is not put to these protections, and that there will be no security to trade or property in the markets.

I await result of communications to Ministers before reporting. The Moor who died from effect of flogging was not Secretary but Steward of Governor. Boiling water poured upon him during flogging.

P.S.—No presents sent to British or German Governments, as reported in my despatch No. 31. Officer saw French Minister; latter refuses to admit any account of conduct of son of Shereef except that of Secretary of Legation; declares apprehension of Sultan about proceedings unfounded; insists on dismissal of Governor. Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs will call on German Minister, Italian Minister, and Spanish Minister, instead of Sultan's officer, so as not to rouse French susceptibility.

No. 62.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 115.) *Vienna, April 9, 1884.*

My Lord,

IN the interview I had with Count Kálnoky yesterday afternoon, his Excellency informed me that the Italian Ambassador had spoken to him, by desire of his Government, respecting the proceedings of the French towards Morocco.

His Excellency likewise read me a despatch from the Austrian Minister at Madrid, reporting the observations which had been made to him by the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs upon the same subject; and Count Kálnoky further read to me a Report which he had received from Sir J. D. Hay, which states succinctly the various points upon which, under somewhat severe pressure, the Moorish Government had yielded to the French Representative at Tangiers.

It results from the communication of Señor Elduayen to Count Dubsky that the French Government having obtained, through the energetic or rather menacing action of their Minister, satisfaction for certain grievances or pretensions which they had put forward, were still adopting a course which gave reason to apprehend that France was seeking, with a view to the realization of their aggressive and ambitious designs, to fasten a quarrel upon Morocco.

The deposition of the present Sultan, and his substitution by the Shereef of Wazan, who is said to have rendered services to the French in their dealings with the frontier tribes, and has, as a recompense, been taken under French protection, was alluded to by the Spanish Minister to Count Dubsky, as forming a not improbable item in the French plans.

The Italian Government seems to be apprehensive lest it should be the intention of the French Government to repeat in Morocco the policy which they have pursued in Tunis; and the desire of both the Italian and the Spanish Governments appears to be to interest the Great Powers to take some steps in common, with a view to the maintenance of the *status quo* in Morocco.

Count Kálnoky informed me that he had replied to the Italian Ambassador that he was not at present sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances to be able to express a

decided opinion, but that he would make inquiries and communicate further with him on the subject.

In the meantime, his Excellency said, he should be very glad to be made acquainted with your Lordship's views on the matter in question, and with the course which Her Majesty's Government proposed to take respecting it. His Excellency intends, I believe, to direct Count Károlyi to speak to your Lordship on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 63.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 14. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April 11, 1884.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch, as marked in the margin,* from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, relative to intrigues of Señor Alba Salcedo with the Shereef of Wazan against the Sultan of Morocco.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 64.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 12.)

(No. 27. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April 2, 1884.*

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 24 and 25 of the 24th and 29th ultimo regarding the state of affairs produced by the extension of protection to the Great Shereef of Wazan by the French Government, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Diosdado communicated to me the substance of a despatch he had addressed the Government at Madrid, in which he reported the language held to him yesterday by M. Ordega on this subject.

M. Ordega stated that the two officers of his Legation, who had been dispatched to Wazan to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the Governor, Cid Mohammed Gebbar, and of the son of the Shereef, Cid Mohammed, who represents his father, as the spiritual Chief in the holy city of Wazan, had returned to Tangier, and that he (M. Ordega), in consequence of the report he had received from them, had demanded from the Sultan the immediate removal of Cid Mohammed Gebbar from the Government of Wazan.

M. Ordega said that Cid Mohammed, the son of the Great Shereef, had been accused of having bastinadoed two soldiers of the Governor, Cid Mohammed Gebbar, on account of their having made use of offensive expressions regarding him, and that one of these men had died from the effects, as it was falsely alleged, of the bastinado.

M. Ordega said that the result of the inquiry proved that the deceased had not died from the effects of the flogging, but that he had been given poison by the Governor after his release from prison.

M. Ordega added he was persuaded that the Sultan would accede to his demand for the removal of Cid Mohammed Gebbar from the Governorship of Wazan, as he considered that he (M. Ordega) had rendered a most important service to the Sultan by giving His Majesty an opportunity to conciliate the Shereef, who was so incensed at the treatment he had received from His Shereefian Majesty and his Government that he would have taken steps, which would inevitably have led to civil war and to the dethronement of the Sultan, had he not intervened.

M. Ordega observed that the day the officers of his Legation entered Wazan they were met by a body of 700 men, cavalry and infantry, all armed with double-barrelled rifles, and that several tribes had sent in their adhesion to the Shereef, who had only to declare himself the head of a party opposed to the Sultan, when large numbers of the population would be ready to join his standard from all parts of the country.

M. Ordega observed that the Shereef represented civilization and progress, the

* No. 48.

Sultan barbarity and retrogression; and that they, the French, would gladly accept and welcome a Ruler of this country who would establish order on the frontier.

An observation having been made to M. Ordega regarding the irregularity of the protection afforded to the Shereef and his family, which had disposed him to foment a civil war, he replied that protection was afforded only to the Shereef and his son, Cid Mohammed, and that the Shereef was ready to extend the hand of friendship to the Sultan if His Majesty would remove the present Governor of Wazan, and would take steps to prevent acts of injustice towards his dependents.

M. Ordega, in reply to a remark that the aim of the Madrid Convention in affording protection to Moorish subjects had been to benefit trade, and not for political purposes, said that France upheld protection for political purposes, by which civilization and improvement could be introduced into Morocco.

M. Diosdado having made a remark regarding the proceedings of the Shereef, as being prejudicial to the Sultan, M. Ordega observed, "It is evident that you desire to uphold barbarity," and he repeated that His Shereefian Majesty should feel greatly indebted to him, for he had saved him from civil war, which would have led to his dethronement.

Similar language has been held by M. Ordega to M. Scovasso, the Italian Minister, to whom, in the course of conversation, he said that it had been the intention of M. Ferry to have promoted him to a Legation in Europe, but that his policy and acts in Morocco had met with entire approval, and had been considered so beneficial to the interests of France that he had been requested to remain for another year.

M. Ordega has thrown off the mask, and the impression left on the minds of his hearers is that his conduct is entirely, though it may be covertly, approved by the French Government.

According to M. Ordega's account, the Sultan now depends entirely on his good-will and forbearance, whilst with his usual indiscretion in conversation, he leaves the impression that the aim of France will be to bring about the downfall of the Sultan, and that the Shereef, the alleged representative of civilization, supported by France, will ascend the throne. It is not surprising that the Sultan should have directed his Vizier to appeal to Her Majesty's Government, crying out, "The hand of the enemy is upon me."

In my despatch No. 7 of the 20th January, I mentioned that I was "inclined to think that there had been some secret understanding between the French Minister and the Shereef, and that hopes had been held out to him that his pretensions to the throne under certain contingencies would be supported by France." This supposition, it appears to me, is now confirmed by the acts and indiscreet language of M. Ordega. The French Government, without resorting to the use of force, can now bring about this event at any time they may find it convenient to do so. Should the Shereef succeed in usurping the throne, it is evident he would be merely a satrap of France, which Power would become mistress of Morocco and of all the southern coast of the Mediterranean from Spartel to Tripoli.

The French Government may not think that the time has yet come to effect this, and may stay the restless and ambitious hand of their Minister in Morocco, and continue to give apparently satisfactory and solemn assurances to foreign Governments of their desire not to disturb the *status quo;* but there can now be no doubt as to their covert intentions.

M. Ordega, as I reported to your Lordship last year, had openly spoken of his intention of becoming the Roustan of Morocco, and he is carrying this out, though in a different manner from his colleague.

In the present state of affairs, the authority of the Sultan will daily dwindle away, the action of his officers be paralyzed, the will of the French Minister will rule all Moorish officials, and even the relations of this Government with other Powers; the position of other Representatives will become untenable; for the Moorish Government and its officials, brutalized, as it were, by the effects of the violent language and treatment they receive from the French Minister and the members of his Legation, who show an utter disregard for their independence, will hardly be disposed to pay attention to the representations of those foreign Representatives who do not resort to a similar mode of treatment.

With regard to the flogging of the soldier to death, I believe that it was done, for I do not see what object the Government can have had in poisoning his own dependent, who had been arrested and flogged by the Shereef's son.

M. Ordega, in answer to the query put him, pretends that he only protects the Shereef and his family, including the son, Cid Mohammed, the spiritual Chief at Wazan.

This latter person is of age, and has a family; he is not, therefore, entitled to protection by the Madrid Convention, for he cannot also have rendered a service to France, unless it has been by defying the authority of the Sultan and his officers. Though M. Ordega may choose to declare he does not protect the Shereef's relations and dependents, I am told that a list of them has been made out, and that instructions have even been sent to the French Vice-Consul at Saffi to protect some relative or adherent of the Shereef.

As I do not believe that France would be disposed to withdraw the protection afforded to the Shereef, or to direct their Minister to desist from his manifest intention of undermining the authority of the Sultan and paralyzing the action of his officers, I know not what measures could be suggested, unless it be, as I have ventured to submit in past despatches,* that an understanding be come to with other foreign Powers regarding the future of Morocco and the neutrality of the Straits.

With regard to the character of the Shereef, Hadj Abdesselam, whom M. Ordega points at as the representative of civilization and progress in Morocco, he is a drunkard, and has had several attacks of delirium tremens. He is a man of dissolute, and I may say bestial, habits. He has been guilty, when in a state of intoxication, of committing outrages on the women of his household by unmerciful floggings, and even, it is said, of murder. Since he married an English lady I have not heard reports of the commission of like outrages, except on one occasion, when a Jewish mistress was cruelly flogged.

His son, Cid Mohammed, has shown what he is capable of, by flogging to death a soldier of the Government of Wazan, for there can be no doubt that the man died from the effects of the flogging, and not from poison.

The Shereef of Wazan has always been friendly disposed towards Europeans and towards native Jews. He takes a great interest in European arms, of which he possesses a large stock.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—Since writing this despatch I learn that the Moor, Hadj Mohammed Shammi, who was flogged to death by the son of the Shereef, was the "Khaleefa," or Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of the Governor of Wazan, and not a common soldier.

His hands are said to have been fixed (the word "clavados" was used, but I can hardly think they were actually nailed) to a wall, and he was flogged till his flesh was torn away in pieces.

The Governor Gebbar sent him some medicine to heal his wounds, which has afforded a pretext for the accusation of poisoning brought forward by the partizans of the Shereef. The French officers listened to the statements of the Shereef's son and of his partizans.

J. H. D. H.

No. 65.

Earl Granville to Consul-General Playfair.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, April* 12, 1884, 6·15 P.M.

ASCERTAIN and report whether there is any truth in rumour that French have assembled troops on frontier of Morocco, and if so, at what point.

No. 66.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 29.)
My Lord, *Tangier, April* 4, 1884.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 27 of the 2nd instant, I transmit herewith the translation of a letter from a foreign Consular officer, which was communicated to me confidentially. The writer has been twenty years in this country, and is well acquainted with all that is passing. His views coincide with those I have expressed to your Lordship.

Such is the stupid fanaticism even of the more enlightened Mohammedans, that the story about the spirituous liquors indulged in by the Shereef being converted into milk as they pass his throat is generally believed, and when senseless from intoxication they

* See No. 92, Secret, of November 15, 1883.

believe that his spirit has fled for the time to Heaven, and that, when his senses return, he becomes more inspired than before his state of inebriation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 66.

Letter communicated to Sir J. Drummond Hay confidentially.

(Translation.)

LET the Shereef do what he pleases, he will not fall in the estimation of the Mohammedan population. How can it be otherwise, when they believe that the spirituous liquors he drinks are converted into milk, by the grace of God, as they pass down his throat.

Now the Mohammedans know that the Shereef is backed by a Great Power, whilst the Sultan is abandoned by all. The Shereef, from his sanctity, is assured of victory, if the struggle comes on, for all will follow him.

The Arabs are capable of believing that it is the hand of Providence which has accorded him the protection of France. The Sultan's authority, from the menacing attitude of the Shereef, is gone. Will the Shereef usurp the throne, or will the protector (France) and the protected (the Shereef) be satisfied for the time at having the Sultan under their thumb?

I believe that Cid Mohammed Bargash belongs to the "Juddam,"* and that he is also capable of believing that the spirituous liquors drunk by the Shereef are converted into milk, though he has chosen to say that, in a struggle between the Shereef and the Sultan, every good Mussulman will stand by the latter. I believe that Cid Mohammed Bargash has left Tangier for a time, on account of what is passing and fearing coming events.

No. 67.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 30. Confidential.)

Tangier, April 7, 1884.

My Lord,

IT is reported that the Sultan has dispatched an officer† with presents and letters to the British and German Governments upon the subject of the menacing attitude of the French Minister in his proceedings in this country.

I have the honour to transmit the translation of an extract from a private letter I have received from Meknez, giving an account of the language held by M. Ordega to a Moorish officer of rank, who had come to Tangier in charge of treasure.

I suppose M. Ordega's object in holding such menacing language—if the officer speaks the truth—is to alarm the Sultan, and thus induce His Majesty to accede to his demand for the dismissal of the Governor of Wazan. M. Ordega would probably be prepared to deny that he ever held such language.

I am informed by colleagues and by some of the Moorish authorities that M. Ordega has caused to be issued to the numerous dependents of the Shereef dwelling amongst the tribes in the plains and in the mountainous districts documents in which, though it is not distinctly declared that the bearer is under French protection, the Moorish authorities are warned not to arrest him without, in the first place, giving notice to the French Legation, as he is a dependent of a person under French protection. I am endeavouring to obtain a copy of one of these documents. This system of propaganda will completely undermine and destroy the Sultan's power of control over his subjects.

It is also reported at the Moorish Court that M. Ordega has given protection to the son of the late Governor of Laraiche and his family, who are connected with the Shereef. I believe the former has been made the "Semsar" of some French merchant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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* Sect of which the Shereef is head.

† See Sir J. Drummond Hay's telegram of 9th April annexed. His detailed Report has not yet been received.—E. D.

Inclosure in No. 67.

Extract from Private Letter from Meknez, dated II Jumada 2nd, 1301 (March 31, 1884).

(Translation.)

THE French Minister sent for the Sultan's officer, who had been dispatched to Tangier in charge of Treasure, and said to him, "Tell the Sultan that he is seeking for trouble about the Shereef, and we suppose has sent Bargash to France to speak about it. Say that we are prepared to send 30,000 men across the frontier to support the Shereef of Wazan, and to assist him to govern for the French, and that we shall advance to Fez and other parts. This will take place very soon, very soon." This officer arrived at Fez and told this to the Sultan, and I let you know secretly.

No. 68.

*Earl Granville to Sir J. S. Lumley.**

(No. 80. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, April 16, 1884.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna relative to France and Morocco.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 69.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 349. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, April 16, 1884.

My Lord,

I TOOK occasion to-day to remind M. Waddington that I had spoken to him privately a little time ago respecting Morocco and the attitude of M. Ordega, the French Minister at Tangiers.

I said that the strong assurances which he had personally given me respecting the policy of the French Government in that country had been very agreeable to me, and had justified me in using soothing language to others, and even in expressing an opinion that there was a possibility that there might be some exaggeration in the reports of the different European Representatives on the subject.

But I said that information which I had lately received from various quarters as to the action and language of M. Ordega was very alarming.

It appeared to me that these were not only indiscreet if the policy of the French Government were such as M. Waddington had described to me, but would be so even if an aggressive policy had been that intended by France.

I asked whether M. Ferry, to whom his Excellency had said he had written, had confirmed his views.

M. Waddington said he had not received any reply, but that it was one of the subjects on which he would speak to M. Ferry on his arrival at Paris.

I expressed my satisfaction, as I was sure that, if something was not done, there would be an explosion of feeling on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 70.

Consul Playfair to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19, 1·22 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Algiers, April 19, 1884, 10·50 A.M.

TROOPS assembling at Ain [? Shaïr], near Figuig, not very important. More hereafter.

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* Also to Mr. de Bunsen (No. 47), and Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 15).

† No. 62.

No. 71.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 31.)

Tangier, April 9, 1884.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have sent the following telegram in cypher to your Lordship:—

"An officer dispatched by His Majesty the Sultan has arrived at Tangier with orders to communicate with the British, French, German, Italian, and Spanish Ministers on the subject of the protection afforded by the French Government to the Great Shereef of Wazan and other Moorish subjects, which has brought about a critical state of affairs in this country.

"This officer had a secret interview with me this morning; he will call upon the French Minister in the afternoon, and to-morrow he will pay visits to the other Ministers.

"The officer informed me that the Sultan has declared his inability to govern this country unless a stop is put to such irregular protection, which will destroy all security of property and imperil commercial transactions in the markets of the interior.

"I shall wait till I learn what has been the result of the officer's communication with the Ministers before reporting to your Lordship.

"The man who was flogged to death by the son of the Shereef of Wazan was not the Secretary (as reported in my despatch No. 28 of the 2nd April), but the steward of the Governor of Wazan. They poured boiling water over him during the flogging.

"P.S.—I learn that no presents have been sent by the Sultan to the British and German Governments, as I had reported in my despatch of the 7th instant.

"The Moorish officer has had an interview with M. Ordega, who declines to listen to any account of the conduct of the Shercef's son except that contained in the Report drawn up by the Secretary of the French Legation whom he had dispatched to Wazan. M. Ordega said that there were no grounds for the Sultan being under any apprehensions as to the proceedings of the Shereef of Wazan; and he insists upon the Sultan acceding to his demand for the dismissal of Abd-el-Gebbar, the Governor of Wazan.

"It has been decided that Hadj Mohammed Torres, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, should communicate with the German, Italian, and Spanish Ministers on this subject, and not the Sultan's officer, for fear of rousing French susceptibilities."

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—I regret that as yet I have been unable to procure any black-edged paper.

J. H. D. H.

No. 72.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 32.)

Tangier, April 9, 1884.

My Lord,

WITH reference to the report* received from the interior that the French had assembled a force on the western frontier of Algeria, I learn from a trustworthy source that some French troops have been stationed at a site called Meshreea, on Algerian territory, to protect the workmen who are building a station on the railway which the French are constructing with the alleged intention of extending it to Timbuctoo. The line is passing by Sebdon and Areesha, which are on French territory.

Kador Ben Hamza, Chief of the Oolad Sidi Sheikh, since Ben Suleiman was put to death, receives, as I am informed, 10,000 dollars a-month from the Algerian Government to keep the peace and prevent his tribe from molesting the men working on the railway. His son is said to have been appointed an Agha by the French.

I am told that this line of railway cannot succeed, for when it is passed through the Sahara the moveable sands will stop traffic, and that it would require thousands of workmen to keep the line clear.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—I regret that as yet I have been unable to procure any black-edged paper.

J. H. D. H.

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* See my despatch No. 25 of March 29: No. 60, *ante*.

No. 73.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 33. Most Confidential.)

Tangier, April 9, 1884.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit the translation of a letter addressed to me by the Vizir by order of the Sultan, informing me that Kaid Bushta-el-Baghdady, an officer of the Court, had been directed to proceed to Tangier to deliver a letter addressed to the French Minister by the Vizir, and also one to the German Minister, in which he is informed, in the same manner as I have been, that this officer has received instructions from His Shereefian Majesty to communicate with us respecting the critical state of affairs, which His Shereefian Majesty considers has been produced in consequence of the irregular protection afforded by the French Minister to the Shereef of Wazan and to other Moorish subjects, and that Kaid Bushta has orders to apply to me secretly for advice.

I had an interview with Kaid Bushta at the house of Hadj Mohammed Torres, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs. I defer making known to your Lordship the language which was held to me, as I have requested, for my better recollection, that a Memorandum should be drawn up embodying the instructions Kaid Bushta had received from the Sultan, and all that he had to communicate upon this subject, a translation of which I shall have the honour to transmit to your Lordship in a separate despatch.

As I had learnt in the course of conversation with the German Minister that the Government at Berlin do not appear to take much interest in affairs of Morocco, whilst, on the other hand, I was aware that both the Italian and Spanish Governments desire to uphold the independence of the Sultan and the integrity of his dominions, and that their respective Representatives entertain very decided views upon the subject, it occurred to me that if the Sultan's officer communicated the instructions he had received to the German Minister and to myself only without making any communication to the Representatives of Italy and Spain, these latter might feel surprised and even offended. Under these circumstances, and as Kaid Bushta and Hadj Mohammed Torres informed me that they had been directed to attend to my counsels, I suggested that the fact of their having delivered any letter to me should be kept secret, that the letter to the German Minister should be withheld, and that Hadj Mohammed Torres should call upon the Ministers of Italy and Spain as well as of Germany, and make identic communications to them, requesting that they make known to their respective Governments the critical position in which the Sultan is placed, and the apprehensions he entertains regarding the maintenance of his authority and of order in his dominions.

This suggestion has been acted upon, and Hadj Mohammed Torres has visited the three Representatives as well as myself: a Memorandum is being prepared of the language he held, a copy of which will be delivered to each of us.

Kaid Bushta and Hadj Mohammed Torres considered it desirable, in order to avoid giving grounds for irritation to the French Minister, that the communication should not be made by the former, but by Hadj Mohammed Torres.

Kaid Bushta has, I am informed, written to the Sultan returning the letter addressed to the German Minister, and requesting that it be replaced by a Shereefian letter of the same date to Hadj Mohammed Torres, directing him to communicate with the Ministers of Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Spain, so that if the question is asked by any one of the Representatives upon what authority he had made these communications, he will be enabled to exhibit the Sultan's letter.

Under these circumstances, I think your Lordship will deem it advisable to keep secret from other Governments the fact of a letter having been received by me from the Vizir upon this subject.

With regard to the demand of the French Minister for the removal of Cid Abd-el-Gebbar from the Government of Wazan, as it is to be apprehended that should he remain there Cid Mohammed, the son of the Shereef, may commit some fresh outrage, which the Governor would be unable to prevent, as the Shereef's son would be supported by his numerous dependents, I suggested that the Sultan should be advised to summon Cid Abd-el-Gebbar to the Court to give an account of his proceedings, and to detain him there for the present, while some other officer is selected by His Shereefian Majesty to remain in charge of the Government of Wazan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 73.

Vizir Mohammed Ben Alarby Ben-el-Mukhtar to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)
(Secret.)
(After usual compliments.) *Meknez, II Jumad* 1, 1301 (*March* 29, 1883).

THE infractions of established regulations are known to you. They continue and are on the increase. His Shereefian Majesty has dispatched his faithful servant, Kaid Bushta Ben-el-Baghdady, to confer with him (the French Minister) on this state of affairs and to treat upon it with him, after seeing you secretly, if it suits you; or, should you prefer it, the communication could be made through the Secretary, Cid Ahmed-el-Kerdoody. He will expose to you the state of affairs, so that you may point out how he should proceed in treating (with the French Minister).

Our Lord the Sultan ordered us to write to you, so that you may receive him (Kaid Bushta), and indicate to him your opinion, or that this might be effected through the aforesaid medium, should it not suit you to see him (Kaid Bushta).

Finished II Jumad 1, 1301.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN ALARBY BEN-EL-MUKHTAR.

No. 74.

*Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.**

(No. 95. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, April* 21, 1884.

My Lord,

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch, as marked in the margin,† from Her Majesty's Minister in Morocco, relating to that country and France, and reporting the language held by M. Ordega to the Spanish Minister at Tangier on the 1st instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 75.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 34. Confidential.) *Tangier, April* 11, 1884.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 31 and 33 of the 9th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Kaid Bushta and Hadj Mohammed Torres have communicated to me secretly the result of their interview with the French Minister on the 8th instant.

They informed me that M. Ordega had in the first instance, when Kaid Bushta made known the object of their visit, replied, in very abrupt and harsh language, that he would not listen to any representation regarding the protection afforded to the Shereef of Wazan, or to charges brought against his son, which he was convinced had not the slightest foundation; that he would address a reply to the Vizir in that sense, and Kaid Bushta could return with it when he pleased; that he had demanded the dismissal of Cid Abd-el-Gebbar from the Government of Wazan, and that he expected the Sultan would comply at once with his request.

Kaid Bushta proceeded to relate that, having allowed a little time for M. Ordega to compose himself, he observed that he trusted he would not refuse to hear what the Sultan had directed him to communicate not only regarding the Shereef, but also on other matters.

M. Ordega having consented, Kaid Bushta made known to him the outrageous proceedings of the son of the Shereef in having arrested and bastinadoed Hadj Mohammed Jermoomy,‡ the steward and secretary of the Governor of Wazan, and in having caused boiling water to be poured over him during the flogging, his death ensuing a few days afterwards. Kaid Bushta also told M. Ordega that the Shereef's son had

* Also to Sir A. Paget (No. 54), and Sir S. Lumley (No. 85).
† No. 30.
‡ There was an error in the name of the murdered man, as given in my despatch No. 27 of April 2.

directed his dependents to arrest certain officials appointed by the Sultan for the administration of the government of Wazan, but that they had taken refuge in a sanctuary, except one named Ahmed Sebay, who was flogged and imprisoned; that the Shereef's son had acted in this outrageous manner since he had returned from Tangier, after obtaining French protection.

M. Ordega replied that all these charges against the Shereef's son were unfounded, and that a Report had been made to him by the Secretary of the French Legation, whom he had sent to Wazan, and who had heard the evidence of witnesses proving that the charges were false, that the Governor of Wazan had sent poison to Jermoomy, after he had been released from prison and had quite recovered from the flogging, and that the wife of Jermoomy had deposed that her husband had died from poison.

Kaid Bushta observed that the wife, terrified by threats of violence, may have made such a statement, but it was unreasonable to suppose that the Governor of Wazan would have sent poison to his particular friend and the manager of his property.

M. Ordega repeated, "Ask my secretary and the Chancelier" (they were present*); "they will tell you the charges are false."

Kaid Bushta replied that they had other evidence from witnesses who were not the dependents of the Shereef.

M. Ordega observed that they were all unworthy of credence, being suborned or bribed, and again repeated, "Ask my secretary."

M. Ordega complained of the conduct of the Governor of Wazan, on account of his having neglected to show proper attention to the officers of his Legation on their arrival.

Kaid Bushta replied that the Governor was not to blame, for these officers had not brought any letter of introduction, as is usual on such occasions, from the Minister for Foreign Affairs or from the Basha of Tangier, nor had they even written to Cid Abd-el-Gebbar to apprise him of their arrival.

Kaid Bushta then mentioned to M. Ordega how the Shereef's son had been in communication with various tribes, and had called upon them to buy arms and horses, and to be ready to present themselves at Wazan when required; that the Governors of several provinces had written to the Sultan to declare that they could not carry on their government, as many persons of bad character, taking advantage of the agitation produced by these intrigues, and pretending to be protected by the Shereef, were committing, and would commit, lawless acts, creating great alarm amongst the peaceful inhabitants, and rendering it unsafe for the agents of European merchants to travel in the country or frequent the markets for purposes of trade.

M. Ordega replied that he did not believe that the Shereef's son was capable of having brought about this state of affairs, and that he (M. Ordega) was prepared to guarantee that no armed force would be assembled at Wazan by the Shereef's son, and that tranquillity would be restored if the Sultan would dismiss from office the Governor of Wazan, as he had demanded.

M. Ordega proceeded to assure Kaid Bushta that he was actuated by the most friendly sentiments towards the Sultan, and held a high opinion of His Shereefian Majesty in every respect, though he considered he was surrounded by evil counsellors. M. Ordega further gave the Kaid to understand that other foreign Governments, and their Ministers at Tangier, approved of his proceedings, "except," he added, "the English; beware of them, and, above all, of listening to their counsels."

Kaid Bushta next spoke of French protection having been afforded to the son of Hadj Aly, the late Governor of Laraiche, who had been given some office by the Sultan, at the request of the eldest son of the Shereef, with whom he is connected by marriage.

M. Ordega replied that French protection had not been extended to him, but that he had presented himself at the French Legation, and a letter of recommendation had been given to him for the Governor of Laraiche.

I may here remark that such letters of recommendation are equivalent to protection, for no Moorish authority would venture to exercise jurisdiction over a Moor holding such a document from the French Minister.

Kaid Bushta then related how one of the Sultan's collectors of taxes in Reef, named Mohammed Ben Hamu, had been granted protection by the French Minister, and was fomenting a rebellious spirit in the Reef, and had been seeking to purchase land on the coast near Melilla, with the intention of carrying on a smuggling trade. He reminded M. Ordega that this man had been brought to Tangier in consequence of the represen-

* They were sent for.—J. H. D. H.

tation that had been made by the French Legation some months ago; that he was indebted to a French-protected Jew in the sum of 17,000 dollars; that on his arrival he was put into prison at the request of the French Legation, and his lands in Reef sold to pay off the debt to the Jew, though it had been subsequently discovered, and a document to that effect was in the hands of the Moorish Government, that no such debt existed, and that it had been a conspiracy between the Jew and Ben Hamu to avoid payment of a large sum of money that the latter owed to the Treasury on account of taxes. Ben Hamu had been released from prison by the French Legation, and protection was afforded to him.

The French Minister replied that this Moor had been harshly dealt with, and therefore French protection had been granted; but that if the Moorish Government would restore him the lands that had been sold M. Ordega would send for him to Tangier, and require that he repay the 17,000 dollars and desist from his intention of purchasing a site on the coast of Reef for the purposes of illicit trade, and would require that he should not for the future dwell near the coast.

Kaid Bushta replied that the lands had been sold at the demand of the French Legation to pay Ben Hamu's alleged debts. Lands sold, he observed, cannot be restored, and therefore he could not entertain M. Ordega's proposal.

The impression left on Kaid Bushta, as he informs me, was that no satisfaction is to be obtained from M. Ordega for the various grievances he had specified, though assurances were repeatedly given that if the Sultan attended to M. Ordega's demands and behests he would take measures to allay the agitation which His Shereefian Majesty apprehends, and would induce the Shereef to extend the hand of friendship to His Majesty. Asssuring Kaid Bushta that the Sultan had no better friend than himself, M. Ordega added that France had dispatched forces to conquer lands near India and in other parts, and does not desire to invade Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—With regard to the outrageous proceedings of the Shereef's son at Wazan, Hadj Mohammed Torres put into my hands a letter he had received from the Governor, Cid Abd-el-Gebbar, of which I inclose a copy.

J. H. D. H.

Inclosure in No. 75.

The Governor of Wazan to Hadj A. Torres.

(Translation.)

From the slave of God, Abd-el-Gebbar Ben Abd-el-Aly Alhassany, God assist him, to the Fakeeh and Naïb of our Lord, the Sultan, Cid Hadj Alarby Torres; the peace of God and His blessing be upon you!

BE it known to you that our relative, the son of Cid Hadj Abdesselam,* had gone to visit his father at Tangier last month, and on his return to the Sanctuary at Wazan he sent his dependents to arrest the officers employed by the Government, such as the Superintendent of the Market, the Administrator of the Revenue, and the "Nadir" (the Superintendent of Mosque property), with the intention of giving them orders as he pleased, and thus destroy the authority of the Government. The Superintendent of the Market, the Administrator of the Revenue, and the "Nadir" escaped, but the Inspector of Inheritances, Ahmed Sebay, was arrested, flogged, and imprisoned. The merchant, Hadj Mohammed Jermoomy,† was arrested and bastinadoed, and boiling water was poured over him during the flogging, so that pieces of his flesh fell off, and thus they caused his death (may God have mercy on his soul), and this without justification. The reason given was that his father, Cid Hadj Abdesselam, had induced him to act thus, since he had obtained French protection. Is this protection granted so that people may be treated with injustice, and even put to death? Those persons who have supported the Shereef in this are mentioned in the margin, and they are always seated with him as counsellors.‡

Is such a state of things to be permitted? We request you to speak to his protector, and treat about this.

* The Great Shereef of Wazan.
† A friend of the Governor and the manager of his affairs.
‡ Shereef Ben Abdesselam Ben Alarby, Shereef Ben Abd-el-Jaleel, Shereef Taher Ben Mekky, Tsamy-el-Guilem, Aly Ben Srave, Selam Tuaty, Ahmed Tselmuny Ovdeyy.

We had sent to Cid Mohammed Bargash the notarial document certifying how the death of the said person took place. He has not returned it to us; we hope it has not been lost.

We give you all this information as directed by His Shereefian Majesty, and I inclose His Majesty's orders to us; which read and return. Peace!

II Jumada 4, 1301 (*April* 1, 1884).

No. 76.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received April* 23.)

(No. 35. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April* 12, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to transmit a translation of extracts from the Report of an emissary who had been sent secretly to Wazan to obtain information regarding the proceedings of the Shereef's son.

The information confirms the supposition that a conspiracy, the ramifications of which are widely spread, is at work to bring about the downfall of the Sultan and the annexation of Morocco to France, or a Protectorate under the Government of the Shereef of Wazan.

It is possible that the French Government have not cognizance of this grave state of affairs, brought about by the protection granted to the Shereef; but I can hardly suppose that M. Ordega is ignorant of what is passing, and am inclined to believe that he secretly instigates and encourages the plots for the destruction of this Government.

The document was given to me confidentially. Information received from other channels, as also the language of Kaid Bushta, show that the account given by the emissary is worthy of credence.

With reference to that passage in the inclosed Memorandum where it is mentioned that the villagers of Tardent are protected by the United States' Consul-General, Colonel Mathews, I take this opportunity of mentioning that it is reported that he protects a considerable number of people in various parts of the country, especially in the Province of Zerhon, near Fez. These persons are not inserted in any list which has been presented to the authorities, but the favoured parties are given letters of recommendation to the Governor of the Interior, such as the French Minister has given to the son of the late Governor of Laraiche.* These letters are regarded by the authorities as equivalent to protection. I am assured that these letters are not issued unless liberally paid for.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 76.

Memorandum of Information obtained by an Emissary sent to Wazan.—(*Communicated to Sir J. Drummond Hay, April* 11, 1884.)

(Translation.)

IT is decided in Wazan to whom protection is to be extended. Applicants present themselves to the Shereef's son, Cid Mohammed; he gives a letter to his father enumerating the persons to be protected; one of these takes the letter to Tangier, and there, safe under French protection, orders are given which are very significant of the state of affairs, if one takes into consideration what is reported about the inclination of certain frontier tribes to accept French rule.

The directions given by the Shereef are as follows:—

1. Keep secret the protection granted unless it happens that the authorities are about to take action against you.
2. Feign submission to the authorities of the Sultan.
3. Be prepared with horse and arms for the day when notice is given that your services are required.

With such instructions it is difficult to ascertain the number of persons protected by the French, which will only be divulged when some important event occurs.

The tribes in which these protected persons principally reside are Arhona, Masmuda,

* See my despatch No. 34 of April 11: No. 75, *ante*.

Semsar, Fesian (villages of Had, Ulad Agarl, and Biban), Beni Malek (village of Hadj Ben Jelul), Sâhel (village of Buferrij, and the chief people of the villages of Mejlan, Eshim, Medshar, Alrush), Beni Aros (villages of Ain Hadid and Tardent—the latter are protected by the American Consul-General).

No mention is made in the list of the well-known and regular dependents of the Shereef of Wazan. The tribe of Beni Ghosfit hesitate to openly accept protection, as twenty-eight of their tribe are in prison. The Shereef of Wazan is intervening with the Basha, and exerting himself to obtain their release; the result is awaited before they decide.

The Arabs of the plains who are discontented with the Government of the Sultan would, at the Shereef's requisition, rise in his favour, and accept even French domination. They are ripe for rebellion; there is a net of conspirators formed from the Sahara to the Reef.

No. 77.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 36.)

Tangier, April 12, 1884.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 33 of the 9th instant, I have the honour to transmit translations of a letter addressed to me by Hadj Mohammed Torres, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, and of a Memorandum of the language he had held to me respecting the critical state of affairs produced in this country in consequence of the irregular protection afforded by the French Government to the Shereef of Wazan and the acts of his son, who represents him as Spiritual Chief at that town.

Hadj Mohammed Torres mentions in his letter that identic Memoranda have been forwarded to the Ministers of Germany, Italy, and Spain, and he requests me, as Representative of Austria-Hungary, to forward a copy to Vienna.

I have informed Hadj Mohammed Torres that I shall lose no time in transmitting translations of the Memorandum to the Governments of Great Britain and of Austria-Hungary.

I beg to draw your Lordship's especial attention to the reasons given in the Memorandum why the Sultan considers the protection afforded to the Shereef to be contrary to the terms, or at any rate to the spirit, of the Convention of Madrid, where it is expressly stipulated that an "employé" of the Government cannot be protected. Though the Shereef is a religious authority, he has been employed by His Shereefian Majesty,* as his forefathers were by the Sultan's ancestors, in mediating to restore peace and order in rebellious or disturbed districts, for which services, lands, and privileges were granted to the Shereefs of Wazan; Hadj Abdesselam is therefore, with good grounds, regarded as an "employé" of the Government.

That the Sultan can no longer avail himself of the services of the Shereef when placed under the protection, and consequently direction, of a foreign Government, appears to stand to reason. It would place His Majesty in a false position, for he would have to seek the permission of the French Government, or their Minister, before giving directions to the protected Shereef, and it would depend entirely on the good-will of the former whether the Shereef would use his influence to restore order or otherwise.

The protection afforded to Ben Hamu, who was a collector of taxes in Reef, also appears to be against Treaty, for he was an "employé" of the Sultan. Since his release from prison, at the request of the French, he returned to Reef to foment a rebellious spirit amongst the inhabitants of that district.

That protection is afforded to the numerous dependents of the Shereef is proved by the fact that the complaints and claims of those persons have lately been brought under the cognizance of Hadj Mohammed Torres by the French Legation, and a requisition made that they be settled.

Kaid Bushta says that, when passing through the distant province of Duguella, considerable agitation prevailed there, and the Governor pointed out several persons who were holding seditious language, but he did not venture to arrest them for fear of their being protected; he begged Kaid Bushta, who is an officer of high rank at the Court, to give orders for the arrest of four of the chief offenders. This was done, and the agitation ceased.

I have frequently pointed out to the Sultan and his Ministers that this Government and the arbitrary acts of Governors and Sheikhs render the people ripe for insurrection.

* See Article V.

It seems that the Sultan, aroused at length by the dangers which surround him, has issued orders to some of the Governors to refrain from acts of tyranny and extortion. It is too late. If the Shereef of Wazan is allowed to remain under protection and backed by the power of France, the downfall of the Government of the Sultan will take place at no very distant time, unless His Shereefian Majesty also places himself under their protection.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 77.

Hadj Mohammed Torres to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)

(After usual compliments.) *Tangier, II Jumad* 14, 1301 (*April* 11, 1884).

WE had communicated to you verbally that which is on the mind of His Shereefian Majesty regarding the injuries which have resulted from protection being afforded contrary to Treaty, but as it may happen that our language has not been sufficiently explicit we have prepared the accompanying Memorandum, and have to request that you forward it to your powerful and friendly Government.

As you are also the Political Agent of the great, powerful, and friendly Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary, we beg you to send them also a copy of this Memorandum, that they may be acquainted with all we have stated.

We have sent identic Memoranda to the Ministers of the friendly Governments of Germany, Italy, and Spain.

Peace and friendship!

(Signed) MOHAMMED TORRES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 77.

Memorandum.

(Translation.)

Praise to God!

INFRACTIONS of Treaty and of the regulations regarding protection have produced the most serious prejudice to this Government, so much so, that it has shaken the authority and power of His Shereefian Majesty and of his officers; the population is in a state of agitation, and some of the Governors have written to His Shereefian Majesty declaring that, in consequence of the protection afforded contrary to Treaty, they cannot conduct their Governments as before, for the people are showing a rebellious spirit from the proceedings of the dependents of the Shereef Hadj Abdesselam, of Wazan; the Governors declare that they cannot, for the future, be held responsible for the maintenance of security in the markets and on the public roads frequented by the agents of merchants and other people. In consequence of all this, His Shereefian Majesty has ordered us to explain to you clearly the circumstances, in order that you may make known to your powerful and friendly Government, which has always upheld the independence of Morocco, the difficult and straitened position of affairs, and the prejudice which is occasioned to His Shereefian Majesty. We request you to make it known to your Government, and we pray Almighty God that they, with their clear judgment, may seek for a remedy which may *remove this very great evil*, for the desire of His Shereefian Majesty is to remain in peace and friendship with the powerful French Republic, whose possessions adjoin these dominions. Moreover, His Shereefian Majesty has been repeatedly assured that they (the French) desire His Majesty's welfare and independence; His Majesty cannot, therefore, believe that they are aware, or that it has been clearly exposed to them, how grave are the injuries that have been produced by protection afforded contrary to Treaty. For this reason, His Shereefian Majesty is anxious that this should be brought under their notice through the medium of friendly nations, especially as His Majesty has confidence in their excellent judgment, as also in the sentiments of the powerful French Government, who desire the welfare and the tranquillity (of Morocco).

We will now relate various matters in support of our statements. In the first place, we have to make an exposition with regard to the case of Hadj Abdesselam, of Wazan, in order that it may be explained why it behoves that protection should not be

confirmed to him. His forefathers were regarded by the ancestors of the Sultan as "Grandees" of the Government of the highest rank; their services were always at the disposal of the Sovereigns of Morocco in seeking to promote peace and to mediate between the tribes, whenever they were entrusted with such duties by the Government. On account of this (their rendering these services) they were dispensed from the payment of tithes, taxes, and other contributions, which are required from other inhabitants of towns, and the Treasury made no demand for payment on account of the advantages they derived from employing numerous dependents. Hadj Abdesselam alone has about eighty dependents granted to him in a document sealed by His Shereefian Majesty, and each of these has a family, and pays nothing to the Government. Now this Shereef does not continue to act as his ancestors had always acted, and His Majesty requires that the protection, which has caused him to deviate from the line of conduct of his ancestors, should be withdrawn from him.

We have also to make known to you that Cid Mohammed, the son of this Shereef, has acted in an outrageous manner, and has *broken down the authority of the Government.* Since he visited his father at Tangier and returned, his brother, Cid Alarby, wrote to him that a resident of Wazan, named Hadj Mohammed Jermoomy, had used injurious expressions regarding him and his father, upon which he (Cid Mohammed) caused Jermoomy to be arrested by his dependents and very severely flogged, boiling water being poured over his head (during the flogging), which produced collapse; he was then sent to prison, and guards, armed with guns, were placed over him—not the slightest regard being shown by Cid Mohammed for the authority of the Governor of Wazan. The Governor of Wazan, Cid Abd-el-Gebbar, is a relative of the father, and during twelve years has been employed by the Government, and is encharged with the government of Wazan, and the business of the Sanctuary, and the farms by which it is supported. The regular course of procedure, if Cid Mohammed, son of Cid Hadj Abdesselam, had any question, would have been for him to present it to the Governor, Cid Abd-el-Gebbar, that he might have inquired into the case and have done justice. Should the Governor have failed to do justice, and Cid Mohammed considered himself in the position of a protected person, then it was his duty to refer his case to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in accordance with the regulations regarding protected persons. But this Cid Mohammed has acted in a manner contrary to all reason, insomuch that he even attempted to arrest others who were officers of the Government of Wazan, such as the "Mahteb" (the Superintendent of the Market), the officer in charge of the repairs of the Sanctuary, the Administrator for the receipt of the Taxes, as agreed upon in the Convention of Madrid, and the "Nadir" (Superintendent of Mosque property), and others. The said persons fled, and much agitation was created amongst the population. When these tidings reached the father, he did not take steps to punish his son either by imprisonment or otherwise, but rather, it would appear, that Hadj Abdesselam approved of what his son had done, which was caused by the warmth (support) of the protection granted to the father.

When the French Minister heard of these proceedings he sent his secretary and the Consul (to Wazan), but without giving any notice to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, nor even making any communication to the Governor of Tangier.* They arrived at Wazan, and made an inquiry, and Cid Mohammed, the son of the Shereef, declared that the man who had been flogged and tortured had died after having come out of prison, and that his death was caused by poison, which Cid Abd-el-Gebbar, the Governor of Wazan, had caused to be given to him.

These statements are false, for the evidence was concocted by the dependents of Cid Mohammed, who brought insidious pressure to bear upon the wife of the murdered man until she stated that Cid Abd-el-Gebbar had sent poison. Now Jermoomy was the Wakeel (Manager of Affairs) of Cid Abd-el-Gebbar, and his agent in all matters; how can it be supposed that he can have given him poison? The truth is, and there can be no doubt about it, Jermoomy died from the effects of the cruel treatment he had received from Cid Mohammed.

When the secretary and his deputy arrived at Wazan, and had reposed, they sent to the Governor of the town to say, "You have committed a fault, as you have omitted to do what is usual to guests who visit the town."

Cid Abd-el-Gebbar replied that he had not received any notice of their arrival either from the Governor of Tangier or from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as is the rule on such occasions, and he added, "If you had sent me even a verbal message, I would have caused you to be treated in a becoming manner."

* At Wazan they were the guests of Cid Mohammed.—J. H. D. H.

Then the Secretary and the Consul replied that Cid Abd-el-Gebbar would be held responsible for his conduct.

Amongst other events brought about by the injury caused through protection is, that every one who is of a disorderly disposition, and is disposed to create disturbances amongst the tribes, such as Beni Hassan, El Gharb, and the Mountains, presents himself to Cid Mohammed, who receives them, and says, "Every one who wishes to side with me must bring arms;" so these people are busy buying horses and guns. There is no doubt that these proceedings produce the greatest disorders; there will be no security for the property of merchants, which their agents convey to the markets of the tribes; there will be danger on the public roads, and the authority of the Government, and consequently commerce, will be destroyed.

We have further to state, with regard to the statement of the French Minister, that protection has been afforded by them to Hadj Abdesselam in consequence of the services he has rendered in bringing about tranquillity between the Moorish and French dominions, that those services were rendered in pursuance of orders given by the Sultan [whom God assist!], for it was His Shereefian Majesty who confided this duty to Hadj Abdesselam, as he had before confided a similar mission to the Kadi Ben Abd-el-Wahad (who is now Kadi at Saffi), who was accompanied by the present Basha of Laraiche, Cid Mohammed, son of Abu Mohammed-el-Shirgy, and that when Hadj Abdesselam proceeded on this mission, the Government gave him Shereefian letters to the Chiefs of the tribes, and expended much money on this account, as, indeed, large sums have been expended with the view of preserving friendship with the neighbouring French nation, in conformity with the sentiments which animate both parties.

Thus we have shown that he is in the service of the Government, and that it cannot be sanctioned that he should enter the service of another Government, for, should the Moorish Government at any time again require him (the Shereef) for similar services, as it has been the custom to require from his forefathers, he (the Shereef) would be unable to proceed to render them until he had consulted with another Power. The Moorish Government cannot consent to be placed in such a position as to depend upon the will of any one, or of those persons who they consider are in their service.

Can the French Government, whose judgment and understanding and regard for the maintenance of what is right are so well known, have accepted such a state of affairs?

There is another case of protection being afforded contrary to regulations, that is, the case of Hadj Mohammed Hamu, of Alkala, who was an Administrator in a district of Reef. It had been discovered that his conduct in the service of the Government had been very bad, and that he had wrongfully taken possession of property of the tribe; and further, that he had produced differences between the authorities in the Reef, and had caused losses in the property of the tribe, upon which the Governor arrested him, and he remained in prison. Then the French Minister brought forward a claim, stating that this person owed money to a French merchant. The Government attended to their claim with the view of proving their good-will, and sold that which he (Hamu) possessed, and then proceeded to pay the French merchant through the Representative at Tangier. Then the Minister demanded that he should be brought in chains to Tangier, and the Government agreed. Then the Minister listened to what he (Hamu) had to say, and believed him, and forthwith set him at liberty, although the Government still had claims against him. When Hamu returned to the tribe in Reef he recommenced his proceedings, creating disturbances, and fomenting discord, and tried to purchase land near Beni Bu Gaffer, not far from Melilla, in order to carry on a contraband trade there.

This is also one of the great evils which are destroying the authority and independence of the Government.

We have explained this to you, for we know that the desire of His Majesty is that you transmit it to your friendly Government, in order that they may take it into consideration, and in their wisdom seek for a remedy for the evil, and because we feel assured that your powerful Government desire that His Shereefian Majesty should continue to remain in peace and tranquillity with the powerful French Republic, and because it is believed that the great prejudice which results from these proceedings has not reached the notice of the French Government, and His Shereefian Majesty trusts that, when it does reach them, they will do that which is expected from the excellent judgment and the sentiments which animate them, and their desire for what is right, and that they will shut the door against insurrection in the dominions of their neighbour Morocco, and will aid in upholding its independence as it was, so that friendship and good-will should prevail between the two Governments.

No. 78.

Consul-General Playfair to Earl Granville.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 2.)
Algiers, April 19, 1884.

My Lord,

ON my return to Algiers on the night of the 17th instant I found your Lordship's cypher telegram requiring me to ascertain whether there was any truth in the rumour, that French troops had assembled on the frontier of Morocco.

I immediately wrote to Vice-Consul Boozo at Oran to ascertain, and I have just received from him a telegram, which I lost no time in forwarding in cypher to your Lordship:—"Troops assembled at Ain Sefra, near Figuig, not very important. More hereafter."

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No 79.

*Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.**

(No. 97. Confidential.)
Foreign Office, April 23, 1884.

My Lord,

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris,† which contains the record of a conversation with the French Ambassador at this Court relative to the attitude of France towards Morocco.

I am, &c.
(Sighed) GRANVILLE.

No. 80.

Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.‡

(No. 102. Confidential.)
Foreign Office, April 23, 1884.

My Lord,

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith copy of a despatch relative to the state of relations between France and Morocco.§

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 81.

Consul-General Playfair to Earl Granville.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 3.)
Algiers, April 21, 1884.

My Lord,

IN continuation of my despatch No. 2 dated the 19th instant, I have the honour to report that I have received a communication from Mr. Boozo, the Vice-Consul at Oran, of which the following is an extract:—

"I telegraphed that there was an assembly of troops at Ain Sefra, near Figuig, but that it was not of a very important nature. There is no threatening position for a movement on the south of Morocco except Ain Sefra. I believe that the troops are only *en observation*. They consist of two battalions of infantry, about 2,000 men; one company of the bataillon d'Afrique, 100 men; two squadrons of cavalry, 250 sabres; one battery of artillery, 80 men. Everything is quiet, and the trade with Tonat and Figuig goes on as usual. The only foundation for the rumour is that troops change garrison every six months, and this they have just been doing. I may assure you that no invasion of Morocco will take place without my reporting it to you."

Mr. Boozo is thoroughly well acquainted with all that takes place in the Province

* Also to Sir A. Paget (No. 56), Sir S. Lumley (No. 85), Mr. de Bunsen (No. 49), and Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 16).
† No. 69.
‡ Also to Sir A. Paget (No. 57), Sir S. Lumley (No. 86), Mr. de Bunsen (No. 50), and Viscount Lyons (No 358).
§ No. 76.

of Oran, and he has many friends and acquaintances amongst the Arabs of the south, who keep him well informed of French movements there.

At the same time I must express my opinion that the French are beginning to turn their attention to Morocco, and I should not be at all surprised if a repetition of what took place in Tunis were to occur there.

With an undefined boundary and turbulent tribes in the south the excuse need never be wanting. I cannot forget the events of 1880–81. I reported to Government* that a concentration of troops was taking place on the Tunisian frontier; M. B. St. Hilaire declared that this report was wholly unfounded.† The sequel is a matter of history.

I do not think that anything will be done during the approaching hot season, but if events should occur to excite suspicion I will ask your Lordship's authority to visit the western frontier, and convince myself by personal observation. It is well known that I am occupied in literary pursuits in the Colony, and I can travel anywhere without exciting the least suspicion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No. 82.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received April 29.)

(Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)
Tangier, April 29, 1884.

M. ORDEGA declared that, unless Cid Abd-el-Gebbar was dismissed from the government of Wazan, he would strike his flag, and hostilities would be commenced.

Hadj M. Torres replied, by letter, that he agreed to the dismissal of Cid Abd-el-Gebbar, subject to the approval of His Shereefian Majesty; declaring at the same time, in his letter, that he took this step in consequence of the threats that had been held out by M. Ordega.

M. Ordega refused to receive this letter.

M. Ordega has left Tangier for Paris.

No. 83.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)

(Telegraphic.)
Tangier, May 1, 1884.

FRENCH Minister threatened to strike flag and hostilities if Governor of Wazan was not dismissed. Moorish Minister accepted this demand subject to approval of Sultan, but stated in a letter that he yielded to menace. French Minister rejected this letter, and has left for Paris.

No. 84.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 3.)

(No. 38.)
Tangier, April 25, 1884.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 14 of the 11th instant, transmitting copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, relative to the intrigues of Señor Alba Salcedo with the Shereef of Wazan.

I find that in Mr. White's despatch No. 66 of the 18th September, 1879, and in my despatch No. 77 of the 28th October of the same year, a similar account of the conspiracy was given to Her Majesty's Government.

The French Government, when they took the Shereef of Wazan under their protection, were no doubt cognizant of what had taken place, and were prepared, therefore, to find in the Shereef a ready tool for working out the conspiracy which M. Ordega has set afoot to bring about the downfall of the Sultan and a French Protectorate.

A Moorish hunter, who is on intimate terms with the Shereef, and also a friend of

* See my despatch dated December 13, 1880.
† Foreign Office despatch, dated January 4, 1881.

mine, told me the following story, which confirms the apprehensions entertained by the Sultan :—

"I was out hunting with the Shereef. During a halt for breakfast, the Shereef invited me to partake of his repast. Sniffing, with his face turned southwards, he inquired, 'Do you not perceive a very bad odour?'

"Not understanding the drift of the query, I replied that I did not. The Shereef then observed, 'the smell is most nauseous, and is getting worse; it comes from the Court and the Vizier. I have hitherto been *mesquin*,* and have put up with ill-treatment; I am not, and shall not be so any longer. Do you suppose that, were Abdal Gebbar† to march from Wazan to Soos in the name of the Sultan, he would find any Mussulman ready to follow him?' I replied, 'No.'

"The Shereef continued: 'When I proclaim that I shall proceed from Tangier to Morocco and Tafilelt, and call upon the tribes to join me, shall I have followers?' I replied, 'Yes, many.'

"The Shereef then said, 'The time is coming, and a French army will march simultaneously on Fez, and the Mussulmans will be delivered from the rule of a bad Government.'"

This language of the Shereef tends to show that, even if the French Government deny all complicity in a conspiracy, M. Ordega must have, directly or indirectly, encouraged the Shereef to rebel against the Sultan's authority, and to support France in her ambitious schemes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 85.

M. Waddington to Earl Granville.—(Received May 3.)

French Embassy, May 3, 1884.

My dear Granville,

THE telegram about Morocco you showed me yesterday appears to be a pure fabrication. M. Ordega is coming home on leave, as I told you, and we are on the best terms with Morocco.

Ever yours, &c.
(Signed) WADDINGTON.

No. 86.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, May 3, 1884, 5·50 P.M.*

YOUR telegram of 1st May.

French Ambassador says M. Ordega is only coming home on leave, and that French Government are on the best terms with Morocco.

No. 87.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 17. Secret. Ext.)
Foreign Office, May 3, 1884.

Sir,

WITH reference to your telegram of the 1st instant, I informed you to-day, by telegraph, that the French Ambassador assures me that his Government are on the best terms with Morocco, and that M. Ordega is only coming home on leave.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* Quiet and inoffensive.
† The Sultan's Governor of Wezan, and a relative of the Shereef.

No. 88.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 393.)
Foreign Office, May 3, 1884.

My Lord,

I READ to the French Ambassador this afternoon the telegram, which I had just received from Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, announcing that the French Minister had broken off relations with the Moorish Government.

M. Waddington said that he knew nothing of the matter, but that he had spoken to M. Ferry on the subject of Morocco, and was authorized to assure me, in the most positive manner, that the policy of France with regard to Morocco was absolutely unchanged, and that there could be no question of anything beyond a slight rectification of the frontier between that country and Algeria in the interior.

He said that M. Ordega was coming back to Paris to see M. Ferry.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 89.

Earl Granville to Consul-General Playfair.

(No. 3.)
Foreign Office, May 3, 1884.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 3 of the 21st ultimo, on the subject of the rumoured concentration of troops on the frontier of Morocco.

With reference to the concluding paragraph of your despatch, in which you suggest the advisability, if events should occur to excite suspicion, of your visiting personally the western frontier, I have to inform you that I sanction your proposal provided that existing circumstances should appear to you to render such a journey advisable.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 90.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 5, 8 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, May 4, 1884, 2 P.M.*

FRENCH Chargé d'Affaires has returned to Moorish Minister for Foreign Affairs all communications. No formal notice of rupture of relations, but French flag has been hauled down to-day (Sunday) in pursuance, it is said, of telegraphic instructions from Paris.

Fighting reported at Wazan.

P.S.—French Chargé d'Affaires has stated to colleague that, although flag remains down while all the others are flying, relations are not broken off.

No. 91.

*Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.**

(No. 18.)
Foreign Office, May 6, 1884.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul-General at Algiers, relative to a rumoured concentration of troops on the Morocco frontier.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* Also to Mr. de Bunsen (No. 54).
† No. 81.

No. 92.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.**

(No. 65.)

Foreign Office, May 6, 1884.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch, as marked in the margin,† on the subject of France and Morocco.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 93.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received May 7.*)

(No. 39. Confidential.)

Tangier, April 28, 1884.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 34, Confidential, of the 11th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the reply of the Sultan to the demand put forward by M. Ordega for the dismissal of Cid Abd-el-Gebbar from the Government of Wazan was received a few days ago.

Hadj Mohammed Torres and Kaid Bushta called upon M. Ordega to communicate a Memorandum they had received from the Moorish Court, in which the replies of his Shereefian Majesty to the various matters in dispute are contained.

On their producing the document M. Ordega informed them, in harsh and menacing language, that he refused to receive any communication on this subject unless it was prefaced by the acceptance of his demand for the dismissal of Abd-el-Gebbar.

The Moorish Commissioners remonstrated, and informed M. Ordega that if he would allow them to read the Memorandum he would learn that the Sultan was prepared to remove Abd-el-Gebbar from Wazan on certain conditions, and that there were other matters in the Memorandum upon which His Shereefian Majesty had given full and friendly explanations.

M. Ordega replied that he would not admit of discussion upon any question which would affect the Shereef or his sons, who, he stated, were also under French protection.

M. Ordega told them that, if his demand was not acceded to, he would give the Shereef leave to raise his "green standard" and to march upon Meknez, and that a French force would be ready to act in his support. M. Ordega told the Commissioners to return in two days with their reply, and stated that he was about to leave Tangier for Europe on the 29th instant.‡

This morning the Commissioners paid another visit to M. Ordega; the Shereef of Wazan, Hadj Abdesselam, was present. They endeavoured to induce M. Ordega to allow them to communicate the contents of the Sultan's Memorandum, but he would not listen to their representations, and indulged in threatening language, repeating the menaces about the Shereef raising the green standard, and declaring that he would strike his flag, that a squadron would be dispatched to the Morocco waters, and that Oochda would be taken possession of by a French force, if his demands were not acceded to.

Hadj Mohammed Torres, fearing the consequences of a rupture of relations, then promised to give to M. Ordega this evening a written engagement that Cid Abd-el-Gebbar would be removed from Wazan, subject to the Sultan's approval.

I am confidentially informed that Hadj Mohammed Torres and Kaid Bushta are about to address a letter to M. Ordega containing this concession, but that they will declare that it is made in consequence of the threats that had been resorted to (which will be recapitulated), and from their desire to prevent the disastrous consequences of a rupture of relations.

I shall not be able to learn, before this despatch is sent off, whether M. Ordega will accept, or refuse to receive, the letter in question, containing the acceptance of his demand couched in language which may be regarded as a protest.

It is the intention of Hadj Mohammed Torres, I understand, to communicate a copy of his letter to M. Ordega to each of the four Representatives to whom he had

* Also to Lord Ampthill (No. 117), Sir S. Lumley (No. 101), Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 19), and Mr. de Bunsen (No. 55).

† No. 88.

‡ M. Ordega is, I understand, going to Paris.—J. H. D. H.

addressed letters on the 11th instant, containing a Memorandum on the various questions in dispute with M. Ordega.

As soon as I receive a copy of this letter I shall transmit a translation to your Lordship, and also to the Government at Vienna.

I conclude that M. Ordega has been summoned to Paris by the French Government.

Both the Spanish and Italian Ministers have expressed to Hadj Mohammed Torres, in very decided language, their dissent from, and disapproval of, the proceedings of M. Ordega.

I think it is not improbable, from what I have heard, that Cid Mohammed Bargash, who had gone to Marseilles to consult an oculist, has been, or will be, ordered by the Sultan to proceed to Paris.

I learn that in the Sultan's Memorandum it is stated that Abd-el-Gebbar had never been appointed Governor of Wazan, as that post is held by the Governor of the Laraiche Province, but that Abd-el-Gebbar, being a Shereef, is the magistrate appointed to settle disputes between the Shereefs of Wazan, who are the chief inhabitants, and that His Shereefian Majesty, in the present emergency, was disposed to order the Governor of Lariache to proceed to Wazan to conduct the government there, and that this step was to be taken in a spirit of conciliation to satisfy M. Ordega's demand.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S. *April* 29.—I have just learned that M. Ordega has returned the letter addressed to him by Hadj Mohammed Torres, and sent some officers of the Legation last night to Hadj Mohammed who indulged in very offensive and menacing language.

J. H. D. H.

No. 94.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(*Received May 7.*)

(No. 266.)

Paris, May 6, 1884.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose an article from the "Temps" newspaper of this evening, denying the truth of intelligence which it states to have been communicated to the English journals by the Reuter Agency, to the effect that the relations between France and Morocco have been interrupted, and that the French flag has been for that reason struck at Tangier.

The "Temps" is not an official newspaper, but articles of this kind inserted in it often come from an authentic source.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 94.

Extract from the "Temps" of May 7, 1884.

L'AGENCE Reuter a communiqué aux journaux Anglais la dépêche suivante :—

"*Tanger, le 4 Mai*, 1884.

"Les relations entre la France et le Maroc, qui dernièrement étaient très tendues à la suite du refus du Sultan de destituer, à la demande de la France, le Gouverneur de Mazan, viennent d'être interrompues.

"Le drapeau Français, qui avait été hissé ce matin de bonne heure sur l'hôtel de la Légation, a été descendu à 10 heures."

Nous sommes en mesure de démentir ces assertions. Nos relations avec le Maroc sont satisfaisantes de tout point. M. Ordega, notre Représentant près la Cour Chérifienne, a su créer à la France une situation excellente dans le pays dans lequel il est accrédité, et toutes ses réclamations ont été accueillies.

Nos rapports avec le Gouvernement Marocain sont si bons que notre Ministre a pu prendre un congé. Nous avons annoncé hier son arrivée à Paris, et si le drapeau Français a été amené de sa résidence, c'est précisément à cause de l'absence du Ministre.

No. 95.

*Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.**

(No. 398.)

Foreign Office, May 7, 1884.

My Lord,

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, relative to France and Morocco.†

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 96.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 40.)

Tangier, April 29, 1884.

My Lord,

I AM informed that in the Memorandum which the Sultan had directed his Commissioners to communicate to M. Ordega,‡ but which the latter had refused to admit, His Shereefian Majesty complained that Allal weld Sheikh Ben Tayeb, one of the relatives of the Chiefs of Oolad Sidi Sheikh, who had committed raids on the Algerian territory, had escaped to Tangier, and had placed himself under the protection of the Shereef of Wazan and of the French Minister.

His Shereefian Majesty declares that if this person should appear on the frontier and give rise to troubles and questions, the responsibility will rest upon those who now afford him protection, and not upon His Shereefian Majesty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 97.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 43.)

Tangier, May 1, 1884.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit the translation of a letter addressed to me by the Acting Minister, Hadj Mohamed Torres, thanking me, in the name of the Sultan, for having transmitted to Her Majesty's Government the communication which had been made to me regarding the proceedings of the French Minister.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 97.

Hadj Mohamed Torres to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)

Praise be to God!

3 *Rajeb*, 1301 (*April* 29, 1884).

(After compliments.)

WE inform you that we have made known to His Shereefian Majesty your reply to the Memorandum which we transmitted to you for communication to your friendly Government, with the object of seeking a remedy which may result in the independence of His Shereefian Majesty.

His Majesty has replied, expressing his thanks to the friendly Governments of Great Britain and Austria-Hungary for the interest and good-will they have shown in this matter.

We beg that you will make it known to your illustrious Government in the name of His Shereefian Majesty.

Friendship and peace.

(Signed) MOHAMED BEN-EL-ARBY TORRES.

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* Also to Lord Ampthill (No. 119), Sir S. Lumley (No. 103), Sir A. Paget (No. 66), and Mr. de Bunsen (No. 58).

† No. 84.

‡ See No. 93.

No. 98.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 268.)

Paris, May 7, 1884.

My Lord,

I SPOKE this afternoon to M. Jules Ferry of the reports which have prevailed of serious differences between France and Morocco.

M. Jules Ferry assured me that there was not any foundation for these reports. M. Ordega, the French Minister at Tangier, had, he said, come to Paris for a fortnight. As his absence was to be for so short a time, he had treated it as a mere promenade, and left the business in the hands of the ordinary officials of the Legation, without formally establishing a Chargé d'Affaires. The Minister being thus absent, the flag had not been hoisted at the Legation, but this simply indicated the personal absence of the Minister, and had no political or diplomatic significance. The relations between France and Morocco were, M. Jules Ferry declared, perfectly regular and friendly, and there were, he said, no questions between the two Governments which were of a serious character, or which did not admit of an easy solution.

M. Jules Ferry added that there was absolutely no foundation for attributing to France, as was sometimes done, designs of annexing Morocco, of establishing a Protectorate, or of promoting troubles in the country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 99.

Memorandum by Sir G. Dallas respecting France and Morocco.

IN view of the attitude and action of the French Minister in Morocco, it may not be out of place to recall the various assurances which recent French Governments have given upon the subject of their policy in that country.

Lord Granville, in recording for Sir R. Morier's information the substance of a conversation with the Spanish Minister on the 7th December, 1881, wrote:— To Sir R. Morier, No. 142, Confidential, December 7, 1881.

"I told the Marquis de Casa Laiglesia that Lord Lyons had had two interviews on this subject with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, while he was French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and that the latter had most positively affirmed that there was no intention of an expedition across the Moorish frontier, and that the French Government were opposed to any such proceeding."

On the 14th of the same month, Lord Lyons thus reports a conversation with M. Gambetta:— Lord Lyons, No. 1120, December 14, 1881.

"I proceeded to say that M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire had given me, on the part of the late Government, distinct assurances that they intended to respect the territory of Morocco.

"M. Gambetta replied at once that he gave me the same assurances, on the part of the present Government, in a still more formal and positive manner.

"He authorized me to assure your Lordship, categorically, that the French Government are quite resolved not to touch Morocco."

In January of the following year Lord Lyons reminded M. Gambetta of these assurances, and "expressed a hope that we should be spared the calamity of an international Morocco question." Ibid., No. 32, January 12, 1882.

M. Gambetta replied that his sentiments on the subject were well known to Lord Lyons.

M. Ordega, the French Minister at Tangier, also held reassuring language to Sir J. D. Hay, adding "that his Government had no ambitious projects regarding Morocco, and that he could clearly and formally declare that no attempt would be made to pursue a course such as had led to late events in Tunis." Sir J. D. Hay, No. 9, January 17, 1882.

Early in 1882 some French troops in pursuit of insurgents, who had made a raid into Algeria from Morocco, crossed the frontier, and a combat ensued.

M. de Freycinet, in conversing with Lord Lyons on the subject, observed, "that the orders of the French Government were that the frontier was to be strictly respected; that nothing could be farther from their thoughts than designs against the independence of Morocco, and that nothing could be more inconvenient to them than to have a Morocco question added to the difficulties already existing." Lord Lyons, No 239, March 17, 1882.

Sir J. D. Hay, No. 59, Confidential, April 9, 1882. Ibid., No. 61, Confidential, April 13, 1882. Lord Lyons, No. 268, May 7, 1884.

M. Ordega appears to have given satisfactory assurances to the Sultan when he visited him at Morocco in April 1882, and even to have committed them to writing.

The assurances recently given by M. Waddington and M. Ferry have been equally positive.

G. D.

Foreign Office, May 8, 1884.

No. 100.

Earl Granville to Sir S. Lumley.

(No. 104.)

Foreign Office, May 8, 1884.

Sir,

I HAVE informed Count Nigra of the positive assurances which M. Waddington has been authorized by M. Ferry to give to me, respecting French policy in Morocco, and which are recorded in my despatch to Lord Lyons, No. 393 of the 3rd May, copy of which is already in your Excellency's possession.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 101.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 42. Confidential.)

Tangier, May 1, 1884.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 39 of the 28th ultimo, I have the honour to transmit the translation of an identic letter addressed by Hadj Mohamed Torres to the Representatives of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Spain, inclosing a copy of the letter he had addressed M. Ordega, acceding to his demand for the dismissal of Cid Abd-el-Gebbar from his functions as a magistrate at Wazan, on the condition that the Sultan approved, but declaring very distinctly that this concession was made by him in consequence of the menacing language which M. Ordega had made use of, and in order to "avoid war."

I am informed that the Secretary of the French Legation, M. Montfraix, accompanied by the Interpreter, M. Benchimol, brought back this letter to Hadj Mohamed Torres on the night of the 28th ultimo, and indulged in strong and threatening language on account of the declaration regarding the dismissal of Abd-el-Gebbar not having been made without comment or condition.

M. Ordega departed from Tangier for Paris the day before yesterday. I am informed that he directed M. Montfraix, who is left as Chargé d'Affaires, to hold no communication with Hadj Mohamed Torres, and that a letter from the Vizir brought by a courier direct to the French Legation from the Court was sent last night by M. Montfraix to Hadj Mohamed Torres with a message through the Arabic clerk to say that the letter could not be received for the present. This I conclude is equivalent to breaking off relations with the Sultan's Government, though no notice, verbal or written, has, I understand, been given, nor has the flagstaff at the French Legation been removed.

The "Réveil du Maroc" of yesterday's date, herewith inclosed, the chief articles of which paper are, as I have on previous occasions informed your Lordship, written or inspired by M. Ordega, contains a paragraph stating that the diplomacy of the French Legation "had triumphed," for Abd-el-Gebbar had been dismissed by the Sultan, that the innocence of the son of the Shereef of Wazan had been proved, and that "l'entente la plus parfaite règne à l'heure qu'il est entre les deux Gouvernements."

If M. Ordega caused this paragraph to be inserted, I am led to infer that, should he find the Government at Paris not inclined to approve of the menacing attitude he has assumed, he will say he has gained his object, that Abd-el-Gebbar is dismissed, and that friendly relations continue to exist between the two Governments; in such case, he will probably conceal from them the menacing language he had resorted to and the representations which have been made by the Sultan, through Hadj Mohamed Torres

and Kaid Bushta, regarding the protection afforded to the Shereef and to his adult sons, and the declaration of this Government that the protection of the latter is in direct contravention of the Madrid Convention. If, on the other hand, he finds that the French Government are disposed to support him in showing an utter disregard for the representations and the remonstrances of the Sultan, and that his will is to be law, he will probably induce the Government at Paris to authorize him on his return here to strike his flag if his demands are not attended to for the future, without admitting remonstrance, or even explanations, and a hostile demonstration may be made either by the presence of a ship, or ships, of war in these waters, or by the marching of a French force towards the frontier.

The second Memorandum of the Sultan which M. Ordega refused to listen to, and of which I have lately obtained a copy confidentially, contains, as it appears to me, very reasonable and conciliatory replies and propositions. I have given a brief summary of its contents in the accompanying document.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 101.

Hadj Mohamed Torres to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)

Praise to the one God!

(After usual compliments.) 3 *Rajeb*, 1301 (*April* 29, 1884.)

WE have to inform you that we have duly reported to His Majesty the Sultan our conversations with the French Minister regarding the affairs of Wazan, of Mohamed Hamu-el-Kalay, and of Alal Weld-el-Sheikh Ben Tayeb.

We received His Shereefian Majesty's reply, of a nature beneficial to both parties, and inclosing a Memorandum which contains a solution of these questions, and we went to his house (M. Ordega's) to read the Memorandum to him; he refused to listen to it, stating that he would listen to nothing of the kind, but only that Cid Abd-el-Gebbar is dismissed. When we heard him menace us we inclined to what appeared to us expedient, and we acceded to the demand for the dismissal of Abd-el-Gebbar from his official post, with the condition that we should submit it to His Shereefian Majesty, and we wrote to him regarding it, and we stated to him the reason which moved us to satisfy him, but he returned to us the note, and sent to us his First Secretary, a Khalecfah, and his Consul, to demand that we should put nothing in our letter beyond the dismissal of Abd-el-Gebbar without explaining the cause which moved us to satisfy him, and they informed us in his name that he will have no relations with us.

Annexed is a copy of the note which we sent to him, and which he returned us. We beg you to communicate it to your Government, that they may be aware of what has taken place on the part of this Minister.

We hope that you will act in conformity with the trust we place in you.

Friendship and peace.

(Signed) MOHAMED BEN-EL-ARBY TORRES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 101.

Hadj Mohamed Torres to M. Ordega.

Praise to the one God!

(Translation.) 2 *Rajeb*, 1301 (*April* 28, 1884).

TO our friend the judicious, respected, and honoured Minister Plenipotentiary of France, M. Ordega:

We do not cease to inquire after your health, and pray God for your prosperity, which premised:—

As we are mediators for the general welfare, and as it is our desire to obtain what is beneficial and to ward off what may be injurious to His Shereefian Majesty, and as we do not desire war, we find ourselves obliged by pressure to enter into an engagement with you that Cid Abd-el-Gebbar, of Wazan, should be dismissed by the Government; this engagement, however, is made on our own account and in our own name,

and subject to the approval of His Shereefian Majesty, for Kaid Bashta-el-Baghdady was sent by His Majesty, on the questions of Wazan, and of Mohamed Hamu-el-Kalay, as you are aware from the Memorandum which was delivered to you, and which we read to you in the presence of the said Kaid, who also spoke to you on the subject of the nephew of Suleyman Ben Kador and his relatives, who are here in Tangier, requesting that they be delivered into the hands of the authorities before they escape, and cause fresh troubles, as happened in the case of his uncle Suleyman, on which subject you gave us your reply, which reply we forwarded to the Sultan, and His Majesty's answer reached us and was contained in the second Memorandum which we, in company with the said Kaid, brought with us to our meeting the day before yesterday, in order that you might hear from us the contents of the Memorandum, and be made aware of the great trouble and care His Shereefian Majesty takes for the just settlement of all these questions; but you refused to allow us to read to you the Memorandum, and you informed us that you would not listen to a word of it unless we declared that Kaid Abd-el-Gebbar was dismissed, and unless Kaid Bushta confirmed his dismissal. We were surprised at your refusal to listen to this Memorandum, and also at what you told us verbally, namely, that you would send Cid Abdesselam with a green standard, and that the people would follow him to Mequinez, whereas the Memorandum that you would not listen to tended to the solution you demanded, but with conditions mutually beneficial to both sides; and at the end of the conference we repeated that we were prepared to enter into an engagement with you for the dismissal of Abd-el-Gebbar, on condition that Cid Mohamed, son of Cid Abdesselam, should not remain in Wazan. We did not cease to insist that the protection of Cid Abdesselam should be annulled, as he is a "Khadem,"* and that the protection of his sons should be annulled as it is not legal, being contrary to the stipulations of the Madrid Convention. Even if the protection of the father were legal, the protection could not be extended to the sons who are of age.

If Cid Mohamed and Cid Abd-el-Gebbar both leave Wazan, the questions mentioned in the Memorandum would be settled, the first as well as the second, and the Government could be conducted, as is right, by the Basha of Laraiche, who is ready to proceed to Wazan, and take steps to promote tranquillity and calm. But as we did not find in you a disposition to facilitate a renewal of investigations at Wazan, and as, in addition to menaces and a refusal to listen to the Memorandum, you declared to us that you were about to proceed to Paris, that you would lay hands on Oochda, that a squadron will come to the Straits, and that you would strike your flag, we have deemed it prudent to accept your demand with the above-mentioned condition.

Friendship and peace.

(Signed) MOHAMED TORRES.

Inclosure 3 in No. 101.

Summary of the Sultan's Memorandum which Hadj Mohamed Torres tried to read to M. Ordega on the 26th April, but which M. Ordega declined to listen to.

(Translation.)

AN inquiry will be made into the complaints against Cid Abd-el-Gebbar which are alleged to have been presented by the Mahommedan and Jewish population of Wazan to the French Secretary of Legation, but these complaints must be specified.

The accusation made against Abd-el-Gebbar of having poisoned his own dependant, who died after the cruel flogging inflicted on him by order of the Shereef's son, cannot be admitted, as it is not true that this dependant had calumniated Abd-el-Gebbar. How came it to pass that the Shereef's son took the law into his own hands, without appealing to His Majesty or to his Ministers? As to the declaration of the wife of the murdered man, she should be sent to the Court, where a strict investigation would be made into the charge.

With regard to the French Minister's declaration that the Shereef of Wazan, Hadj Abdesselam, has been under protection for a long time, though it was only lately made public, His Majesty had never before heard that protection had been afforded to him. How is it that such protection should have been granted when it is notorious that he and his ancestors were in the employment of the Government, and therefore the protection afforded to him is contrary to the Convention of Madrid?

* Person in the service of the Sultan.—J. H. D. H.

Abd-el-Gebbar had never been appointed Governor of Wazan, but was a kind of magistrate, appointed to settle disputes between the Shereefs of that town without the interference, as it were, of a lay Governor. The real Governor of Wazan is the Basha of Laraiche, who has now been ordered to proceed there, and to take note, through a "Nadir," or Inspector, to be appointed for that purpose, of all the property of the Shereefs. The Governor of Laraiche will then apportion out the property of each Shereef, so that there may be no difference between Abd-el-Gebbar and other Shereefs. This will be done also in the various provinces where the Shereefs of Wazan hold property.

The Governor of Laraiche will appoint a Khaleefa, or Lieutenant-Governor, to reside at Wazan, but disputes between the Shereefs will be settled by Abd-el-Gebbar. Should Abd-el-Gebbar and his relatives, the sons of the Shereef, not make peace, and the removal of Abd-el-Gebbar be therefore insisted on, the sons of the Shereef, who have been the cause of all this trouble, must also be required to leave Wazan. Abd-el-Gebbar would then be dismissed and removed.

The sons of the Shereef must not continue to interfere with the course of justice, and prevent the prosecution of the assassins of the Shereef Cid Alarby Ben Cid Alal Ben Tayeb, whose names are mentioned in the margin, but these latter must present themselves for trial.

The statement of the French Minister that he does not approve of the conduct of Mohammed Hamu-el-Kalay is accepted as a proof of his good judgment, and His Majesty thanks him. The suggestion of the French Minister that Hamu should be sent for, and his lands restored to him on his refunding their value, is agreed to, but he must present himself at the Court, where a safe-conduct will be given him, to settle what he owes to the Government. No harm will be done to him, but, should he again be guilty of misconduct, notice will be given to the Minister.

With regard to the declaration of the Minister that Hadj Ali of Laraiche, the son of the late Governor, will not be protected, the Sultan accepts it is a proof of his good-will, for Hadj Ali, his father, and grandfather, had always been in the service of the Government, and could not, therefore, rightfully be protected.

With regard to Alal, son of Sheikh Ben Tayeb, the Sultan had granted lands in the Hanz to the family of the Sheikh, and had treated them kindly. Alal wrote to the Court complaining of the Governor of Oochda; a letter was thereupon addressed to that functionary, and Alal was told to present himself at the Court, but instead of obeying the summons he went to Tangier, and placed himself under the protection of the French Minister, with intention, it is feared, of returning to the frontier and creating fresh troubles.

An understanding had been come to with the French Government that the family of Oolad Cidi Sheikh should be watched, but, now that Alal has taken refuge with the French Minister, the Sultan declines all further responsibility in case future troubles are caused by him.

In conclusion, the French Minister's assurances of good-will, and of his desire for peace and harmony, are regarded by the Sultan as proofs of his being a judicious person, for, although everything in this world comes to an end, good acts endure.

No. 102.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 271.)

My Lord, *Paris, May 9, 1884.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship an article from the Paris newspaper the "Soir" on the subject of Morocco.

The present state of affairs in that country has not yet attracted public attention in France in any very marked degree, but the article in question, though tinged with the enmity towards England which marks the journal in which it occurs, may perhaps be taken as expressing the prevalent opinion on the subject.

After stating that France, Spain, and England first, and Italy next, are the countries most interested in the question, it affirms that for forty years all the troubles in the south of the Algerian Province of Oran have had their origin in Morocco, and that the rebels have always found on the territory of that country a refuge, and a station in which to prepare fresh insurrections.

It proceeds as follows:—

"Sans vouloir tirer, d'une situation analogue en beaucoup de points, des con-

séquences identiques, nous croyons pouvoir dire que le Maroc est, à l'ouest de l'Algérie, ce qu'était à l'est, il y a trois ans, la Régence de Tunis. Nous ne saurions donc nous désintéresser des choses de cet Empire Musulman, et nous devons même, dans la mesure où cette extension est compatible avec les bonnes relations que nous entretenons avec l'Espagne et l'Angleterre, développer autant que possible l'influence que nos Agents ont su acquérir auprès de Mouley-Hassan. A cet égard, nous avons plaisir à le reconnaître, M. Ordega, Ministre de France à Tanger, rend à notre pays d'excellents services.

"Il a obtenu du Sultan depuis quelque mois des concessions et des mesures qui sont autant de preuves de l'ascendant qu'il exerce."

The article goes on to argue that the true policy of Spain would be to unite with France exclusively in treating the questions of Morocco—"Les affaires du Maroc," it says, "doivent être exclusivement Franco-Espagnoles."

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 102.

Extract from the "Soir" of May 8, 1884.

QUESTION DU MAROC.—Peut-être n'y a-t-il pas encore une question du Maroc, au sens que, dans le langage courant de la presse, on attache à ce mot; peut-être y en aura-t-il une avant longtemps. Quoi qu'il en soit, on s'occupe beaucoup, depuis quelques jours, au delà de la Manche et en deçà, en deçà comme au delà des Pyrénées, des rivalités d'influence qui se produisent dans cette partie de l'Afrique Septentrionale.

Toutes les Puissances ne sont pas également intéressées aux affaires du Maroc. La France, l'Espagne, et l'Angleterre le sont plus que toutes les autres; puis vient l'Italie, l'Allemagne, l'Autriche-Hongrie, la Turquie, dont le Maroc s'est depuis longtemps détaché complètement, sont, à peu près indifférentes aux faits et gestes du Sultan Mouley-Hassan et aux destinées des populations Marocaines.

La France est obligée de suivre avec attention ce qui se passe à l'ouest de ses possessions Algériennes, parce que la sécurité de la Province d'Oran dépend en grande partie de la tranquillité du Maroc. Depuis quarante ans, tous les troubles dont le Sud Oranais a souffert ont pris naissance sur territoire Marocain; les rebelles y trouvent un refuge assuré contre les poursuites de nos troupes, un lieu de concentration et de ravitaillement en vue d'insurrections nouvelles.

On n'a pas oublié ce qui s'est passé en 1881, et la nécessité à laquelle notre Gouvernement a failli être réduit, de pourchasser au delà de la frontière Oranaise les bandes de Si-Sliman et de Bou-Aména.

Sans vouloir tirer d'une situation, analogue en beaucoup de points, des conséquences identiques, nous croyons pouvoir dire que le Maroc est, à l'ouest de l'Algérie, ce qu'était à l'est, il y a trois ans, la Régence de Tunis. Nous ne saurions donc nous désintéresser des choses de cet Empire Musulman, et nous devons même, dans la mesure où cette extension est compatible avec les bonnes relations que nous entretenons avec l'Espagne et l'Angleterre, développer autant que possible l'influence que nos Agents ont su acquérir auprès de Mouley-Hassan. A cet égard, nous avons plaisir à le reconnaître, M. Ordega, Ministre de France à Tanger, rend à notre pays d'excellents services. Il a obtenu du Sultan, depuis quelques mois, des concessions et des mesures qui sont autant de preuves de l'ascendant qu'il exerce.

L'Espagne, de son côté, surveille d'un œil jaloux ce qui se passe au Maroc. Son voisinage la range dans la catégorie des intéressés du premier degré, et sa situation a beaucoup de rapports avec celle de l'Italie à l'égard de la Tunisie, avant notre occupation. Cela explique le soin avec lequel on suit à Madrid les efforts de la diplomatie Française.

La possession de Gibraltar crée à l'Angleterre des préoccupations de même nature. Que deviendrait l'importance militaire et maritime de cette place de guerre, si une Grande Puissance s'établissait au Maroc et construisait à Ceuta un contre-Gibraltar?

L'Espagne s'est jointe à l'Angleterre contre nous, en 1880, quand fut conclue la Convention qui assure l'indépendance du Maroc. Nous ne voyons pas trop quel avantage il en est résulté pour elle. Nous voyons fort bien, au contraire, quels profits

la France et l'Espagne pourraient retirer d'une entente cordiale dans les questions relatives à l'Empire Marocain.

Mais le moment n'est pas encore venu d'examiner ce problème de plus près. Il viendra peut-être plus tôt que beaucoup ne le supposent, et nous espérons qu'alors le Cabinet de Madrid, ayant le juste sentiment de ses propres intérêts, s'empressera d'unir son action à celle du Gouvernement Français. Les affaires du Maroc doivent être exclusivement Franco-Espagnoles.

No. 103.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 10.)

(No. 272. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, May* 9, 1884.

IN the newspaper article which is inclosed in my immediately preceding despatch it is stated that Morocco is, as regards the west of Algeria at the present moment, what Tunis was as regarded the east of the great French Colony in Africa three years ago.

Without disbelieving the assurances of the French Government, or supposing that the French are deliberately acting on a plan intended to prepare for the annexation of Morocco to France, it is difficult to see without alarm the tendency of events to produce a state of relations between France and Morocco very similar to that which preceded in Tunis the establishment of the French Protectorate of that Regency.

The French Representatives are certainly claiming for France a predominant, not to say exclusive, influence in Morocco, and endeavouring to establish this influence by high-handed proceedings. Not only do they exercise such influence as they have already attained for the advancement of the private material interests of Frenchmen, but they seem to seek opportunities of making a parade of it, even in matters of very small importance. They appear to view with extreme jealousy the possession of influence, however legitimate, by the Representatives of other Powers. In this way they may involve their own self-love first, and afterwards that of their country, in contests in which, as in the case of Tunis, they can ultimately obtain success only by a resort to actual force.

It is difficult for the French Government to check effectually and consistently proceedings of this kind on the part of its Agents. It will perhaps endeavour to do so, so long as public opinion is opposed to the undertaking of any fresh distant and costly expeditions. But the French public appear, in general, dearly to love any high-handed assertion of French power; and the disavowal of a "spirited" Agent abroad may not always be an easy matter for the Government in a country like France, where Ministers are so often and so suddenly overthrown.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 104.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 2.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, May* 10, 1884, 6·5 P.M.

M. JULES FERRY has assured Lord Lyons that relations between France and and Morocco are perfectly friendly—no questions between the two Government of a serious character, and he repudiates all idea of annexing Morocco, of establishing Protectorate, or of promoting troubles in the country.

No. 105.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 21. Ext. 2.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 10, 1884.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, stating that his Excellency has received assurances from

M. Jules Ferry to the effect that relations between France and Morocco are of a most friendly nature, that no questions exist between the two Governments of a serious character, that the French Government repudiate all idea of annexing Morocco, of fomenting troubles, or of establishing a Protectorate in that country.*

The substance of the above-mentioned despatch was communicated to you to-day by telegraph.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 106.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 12.)

(No. 44. Secret. Ext.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 4, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have this day dispatched the following telegram to your Lordship in cypher :—

"All letters from the Vizir have been returned to Hadj M. Torres by M. Montfraix, the French Chargé d'Affaires. The flag at the French Legation was lowered to-day (Sunday) in pursuance, as is reported, of a telegram received from the French Government, but Hadj M. Torres has received no formal declaration of a rupture of relations.

"There is said to have been fighting at Wazan.

"P.S.—I learn from a colleague that M. Montfraix told him that there has been no rupture of relations, although his flag remains lowered, when the flags of all the other Legations are flying."

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 107.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 12.)

(No. 45.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 5, 1884.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 29th ultimo, and to your Lordship's telegram of the 3rd instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that great consternation prevailed in Tangier yesterday in consequence of the French flag, which had been hoisted in the morning, as is usual on Sundays at all the Legations, having been lowered, whilst the fact of letters brought by special couriers from the Moorish Court to the French Chargé d'Affaires having been returned to Hadj M. Torres was publicly known.

The British Interpreter, Mr. Abensur, having casually met the Arabic Clerk of the French Legation, inquired why the flag was not flying; the Clerk replied that the conduct of the Moorish Government had been most reprehensible, and that he supposed a telegram might have been received directing that the flag should be lowered.

Later in the day Cid Mohammed-ben-Suleyman, one of the Sultan's Private Secretaries, who is on a mission at Tangier, brought me a message from Hadj M. Torres, that, seeing the French flag had been lowered, and as two letters from the Moorish Court had been returned to him by M. Montfraix, he had dispatched an express courier to Meknez to report that it was to be apprehended a rupture of relations had taken place, although he had not received any communication, verbal or written, on the subject from the French Legation.

The Secretary informed me that Hadj M. Torres had received a letter from the Court, in which His Shereefian Majesty said that he had not yet decided on following the advice I had given, to require Abd-el-Gebbar to proceed to Meknez to give explanations of his conduct, as His Majesty was of opinion that it would be thought equivalent to an admission that Abd-el-Gebbar was guilty of the crime of which he was accused, viz., of

* No. 98.

having poisoned his own dependant, whereas it was evident that the murder was committd by the Shereef's son.

I replied that the fact of His Majesty summoning Abd-el-Gebbar to the Court would not be a proof of the guilt of the latter, whilst his removal from Wazan during the present critical state of the question would tend to tranquillize the minds of the inhabitants of that town, and would prevent the Shereef's sons committing some fresh outrage on Abd-el-Gebbar or his dependants. I requested the Secretary to make known to Hadj M. Torres that he should inform the Sultan I again suggest that my advice should be followed.

Later in the day, as there was no vessel starting for Gibraltar, I determined on hiring a boat to dispatch my telegram to your Lordship of yesterday's date, and I gave notice to the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, M. Tavira,* and to the Italian Minister, M. Scovasso, that if they had any letters to send they would be taken charge of.

M. Tavira called and informed me that he had just seen M. Montfraix, and that, in reply to his inquiries, the latter had assured him relations were not broken off, and that the flag had been lowered as the Minister was absent.

M. Tavira did not, however, inquire how it came to pass that, when M. Montfraix was in charge of the Legation last year, the flag was always kept flying on Sundays and on festal occasions.

M. Tavira informed me that he considered it would be his duty to report the present anomalous state of affairs to the Spanish Government.

The assurance given to your Lordship by the French Ambassador that friendly relations continue between France and Morocco, and that M. Ordega had left Tangier simply on leave of absence, leads to the supposition that M. Ordega has been acting without authority in his menace to break off relations, to resort to hostilities, and to support the Shereef in raising the standard of rebellion, and that probably he is prepared, should he learn on his arrival at Paris that the Government are not disposed to support such extreme measures, to conceal from them the language that he has held; but, on the other hand, bearing in mind, as I do, the frequent visits of M. Roustan to Paris before the French Government decided to adopt his views about taking possession of Tunis, and that repeated assurances were given to the British and other Governments that it was not the intention of the French Government to take possession of Tunis, I think that we are justified in hesitating to accept the present assurances of the French Government regarding this country.

I am informed that the Shereef of Wazan and his son are purchasing arms and ammunition, and I learn from the Basha of Tangier that a tribe in Asigera, under his Government, has placed itself under the protection of the Shereef, and has refused to submit to his (the Basha's) orders.

I may mention also, in support of the supposition that M. Ordega is plotting, with or without the authority of his Government, for the downfall of the Sultan, and for placing Morocco, through the Shereef, under the Protectorate of France, that a French gentleman, who had dined with M. Ordega two or three days before the latter left, told a colleague that France would ere long become master in Morocco, as she is in Tunis, and that, too, without having to fire a shot, for events were rapidly taking place which would lead to this result.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 108.

Mr. de Bunsen to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 12.)

(No. 55. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Madrid, May* 8, 1884.

I ASKED the Minister of State yesterday whether, in view of the recent events in Morocco, his Excellency had anything to add to his declarations with regard to the policy of Spain in that country, as made in his conversation with Sir Robert Morier of the 1st March last, which was reported to your Lordship in Sir Robert Morier's despatch No. 32, Confidential, of the 6th of that month.

His Excellency replied that he only wished to repeat most emphatically all he had said on that occasion. He had clearly foreseen the present emergency, and it was in

* M. Diosdado left for Cadiz on the 30th ultimo, and is expected to return daily.—J. H. D. H.

order to meet it that he had suggested an understanding between the Powers most interested in the maintenance of the *status quo*. It was impossible to exaggerate the importance of the present crisis in the relations between France and Morocco, and his Excellency could not but receive with some reserve the pacific assurances which, at Madrid no less than in London, were being made by the respective French Ambassadors. On the eve of the attack on Tunis the French Government had held similar language, and there were many points of resemblance between the two cases. The unruly neighbourhood of the Kroumirs had formed the pretext for French intervention in Tunis, and Baron des Michels, while repeating that France recognized the prevailing interest of Spain in Morocco, had recently explained to him that the friendship of a powerful Chieftain like the Shereef of Wazan was essential to France for the protection of her Algerian frontier from the incursions of the Riff tribes. Señor Elduayen did not doubt that M. Ordega's visit to Paris might likewise be compared to M. Roustan's return "on leave of absence" immediately before the beginning of the Tunisian troubles.

The Minister of State did not conceal his belief that France was aiming at nothing less than a Protectorate over the whole of Morocco, and his Excellency spoke at some length on the aversion with which Spain could not but regard the contingency of being thus hemmed in, to the south as to the north, by a Power which would of course make use of its vantage-ground still further to extend an influence over the affairs of the Peninsula which had for centuries been prejudicial to the dignified independence of her neighbour. In a word, his Excellency said, Spain would strive to the utmost to avoid becoming the mere satellite of France.

Señor Elduayen spoke with great emphasis of the importance which he attached to a close alliance with Great Britain, whose friendship he believed Spain was, in the present conjuncture of affairs, naturally driven to cultivate. He thought, moreover, that the prospect of a French Protectorate on the southern shore of the Straits of Gibraltar was one which must be even more distasteful to Her Majesty's Government than to that of Spain, and that it was reasonable to expect that England, as the most powerful of the countries which desired the *status quo* in Morocco, would take the lead in striving to maintain it.

Señor Elduayen desired me to repeat to your Lordship the strong opinion of the Spanish Government that there should exist an explicit understanding on the points in question between Great Britain, Italy, and Spain, and he considered that this understanding should take the form of a written agreement to the effect that the Powers in question would combine to uphold the *status quo* in Morocco whenever it should seriously be threatened. Italy, like Spain, was both prepared and anxious to sign such an Agreement, but was awaiting the initiative of Great Britain. Moreover, his Excellency assured me that he had the authority of Prince Bismarck himself in saying that Germany would view the proposed policy with great satisfaction. Austria, his Excellency had reason to believe, would follow in the wake of Germany.

The Minister of State considered it most important that Great Britain, Italy, and Spain should at once arrive at an understanding with regard to the Morocco question, and that some kind of Agreement should be actually signed before the meeting of the proposed Conference on Egyptian finance.

I may state, in conclusion, that his Excellency spoke with some bitterness of what he called the apathy of England in this matter. I said that Her Majesty's Government had, so far as I was aware, in no way receded from the policy which dictated the summoning of the Madrid Conference in 1880, but that I would lose no time in informing your Lordship of his Excellency's views.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

P.S.—Señor Diosdado, the Spanish Minister in Morocco, arrived at Madrid the day before yesterday, having been summoned by Señor Elduayen to confer with him on the present emergency.

M. DE B.

No. 109.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 12.)

(No. 119. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Berlin, May* 9, 1884.

THE French Ambassador informed Mr. Scott that M. Ordega had arrived at Paris before his Excellency's departure, and M. Ferry, who had seen him, authorized Baron de Courcel, if questioned on the subject of the relations between France and Morocco by the German Government, or by any person interested in ascertaining the truth, to say that there was no ground for the statement that these relations were either interrupted or suspended, but that M. Ordega had simply returned to France on leave of absence.

M. de Courcel added confidentially that M. Ordega, who is of Polish origin, had very possibly sought to give himself undue importance in the eyes of his colleagues and to assert himself unwisely.

There were always questions pending between the two Governments connected with matters on the western frontier of Algeria, which on different occasions had produced some tension, but the French Government desired and intended to maintain their friendly relations with the Sultan of Morocco.

They had studiously discouraged any attempt on the part of the Shereef of Wazan to induce them to give a political character to the purely personal protection which the French Government had for years extended to him solely out of regard for the saintly character attributed to him by numerous Mahommedan fanatics in Algeria as well as in Morocco, as they had no desire to be dragged into awkward complications in the interior of Morocco.

The German Government are, I understand, kept fully informed by their Representative at Tangier of all that is passing there, but Count Hatzfeldt manifests little interest in the question, as there are no German interests likely to be affected by it.

I have, &c.
(For Lord Ampthill),
(Signed) CHARLES S. SCOTT.

No. 110.

Question asked in the House of Commons, May 12, 1884.

Baron Henry de Worms,—To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will lay any papers on the subject of the recent dispute between France and Morocco upon the table of the House.

Answer.

Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to lay any papers on the subject at present.

No. 111.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 13, 10 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, May* 12, 1884.

I HAVE communicated to the Minister for Foreign Affairs substance of your telegram of 10th. His Excellency requested me to thank your Lordship, but said that language of French Government is at variance with acts and language of French Minister, who threatened war and insurrection, refused to admit explanations of Sultan, and returned the letters; that any other Government would decline to receive a Minister who acted thus, and protected those who are conspiring against authority of the Sultan; that if he returns, and protection to the Shereef and his sons is continued, the government of the country will be impossible.

No. 112.

*Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill.**

(No. 132.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, May* 13, 1884.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of despatches, as marked in the margin,† on the subject of the satisfactory assurances of the French Government with regard to Morocco.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 113.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 416.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, May* 13, 1884.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch No. 268 of the 7th instant, and I have to request that you will take an opportunity of informing M. Jules Ferry that Her Majesty's Government have received with much satisfaction his assurances that the French Government have no designs of any kind upon Morocco, and that there are no questions between the two countries which do not admit of an easy solution.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 114.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.‡

(No. 22.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 14, 1884.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your confidential information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, containing remarks on the possible consequences of French proceedings in Morocco.§

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 115.

Earl Granville to Mr. de Bunsen.‖

(No. 64.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 17, 1884.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, inclosing an extract from the Paris newspaper the "Soir" on the subject of Morocco.¶

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 116.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18, 11 P.M.)

Tangier, May 18, 1884, *5·55* P.M.

(Telegraphic.)
AN article in French journal "Gaulois" of the 8th May contains calumnious language alleged to have been held by Ordega to M. Ferry regarding me, Italian colleague, and other Representatives. In the same journal of the 10th editor retracts charges against Spanish Minister at the demand of the Spanish Diplomatic [?].

* Also to Sir S. Lumley (No. 110), Sir A. Paget (No. 71), and Mr. de Bunsen (No. 61).
† Nos. 98, 103, and 113.
‡ Also to Mr. de Bunsen (No. 62, Very Confidential.)
‖ Also to Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 23).
§ No. 103.
¶ No. 102.

I beg that Ordega be required by French Government to explain whether communication was made to this journal with his knowledge, and, if so, to retract and apologize in the same journal.

Impossible otherwise to hold any communication hereafter with colleague who ventures to publish calumnies and make false charges to his Government.

No. 117.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19.)

(No. 47. Secret. Ext.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 12, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have this day addressed the following telegram in cypher to your Lordship:—

"Hadj Mohammed Torres, to whom I communicated the substance of your Lordship's telegram No. 2 of the 10th instant, desired me to convey to your Lordship the expression of his thanks; but his Excellency observed that it is hard to reconcile the acts and language of M. Ordega with the friendly assurances of his Government, seeing that the former has resorted to threats of hostilities being commenced, of rebellion being encouraged and aided, that he declined to listen to the explanations offered by the Sultan, and returned all letters addressed to him by the Moorish authorities. 'Any other Government,' Hadj Mohammed Torres added, 'would decline to receive a Representative who had resorted to such proceedings, and who afforded his protection to persons known to be plotting against His Shereefian Majesty. Should M. Ordega return, and should the French Government continue to afford protection to the Shereef of Wazan and his sons, it will be quite impossible for the Sultan to carry on the government of Morocco.'"

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 118.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21.)

(No. 46.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 12, 1884.

HADJ MOHAMMED TORRES called upon me this morning, and I made known to him that the French Government has declared that the most friendly relations exist between the Governments of France and Morocco, that there are no questions in dispute between them of a grave character, and that it was not their policy to encourage disturbances in the Sultan's dominions.

The Acting Minister replied that it was a great satisfaction to receive these assurances, which he should lose no time in communicating to the Sultan, and that he was persuaded His Shereefian Majesty would feel greatly indebted to your Lordship for having elicited such important assurances; but Hadj Mohammed Torres observed that M. Ordega appears to entertain different views from his Government, for his acts and language were at variance with their friendly language; that M. Ordega's refusal to admit the Memoranda of the Sultan explaining the grounds upon which His Majesty objected to dismiss Abd-el-Gebbar from office, and to listen to any remonstrance regarding the outrageous conduct of the Shereef's son, Cid Mohammed, whom the French have taken under protection contrary to the Madrid Convention, his threats that relations would be broken off, that a French force would march across the frontier, and that he would authorize the Shereef of Wazan to raise the green flag, and march upon Meknez, if his demands were not acceded to without comment; the subsequent refusal to receive any communications from himself or from the Court unless Abd-el-Gebbar was dismissed from office; and the lowering of the flag at the French Legation, justified him in declaring that M. Ordega's acts were distinctly at variance with the friendly assurances given by the French Government.

Hadj Mohammed Torres observed that M. Ordega takes undue advantage of their weakness and of the power of the great Government he represents, that he tramples on the rights of the Sultan as an independent Sovereign by affording protection to the Shereef and his sons, and encouraging them to rebel against His Shereefian Majesty's

authority, and that no other Government would suffer a Representative to remain in the country who had acted and spoken as M. Ordega has done.

Hadj Mohammed Torres said he trusted that Her Majesty's Government, and the other Governments to whom they had appealed, would expose to the French Government the precarious position in which the authority of the Sultan is placed, and would point out that, should protection continue to be afforded by the French Government to the Shereef of Wazan, his sons, and numerous dependants, all government would become impossible in the country, as these persons were placed, contrary to Treaty, beyond the pale of the Sultan's control, though openly fomenting rebellion against His Majesty's authority under the ægis of France.

I have, &c.
(Sighed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 119.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 4.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, May* 21, 1884.

YOUR telegram of 18th.

I have instructed Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris to make a representation to the French Government.

No. 120.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 456.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, May* 21, 1884.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith the decypher of a telegram from Sir J. D. Hay, Her Majesty's Minister in Morocco, calling attention to an attack upon him which appeared in the "Gaulois" newspaper of the 8th May,* and which states, on the authority of a communication said to have been made by M. Ordega to M. Jules Ferry, that Sir J. Drummond Hay and the other European Representatives, with the exception of the German Minister, are in the habit of entering into fraudulent contracts with the Moorish Ministers. I have to request your Excellency to bring the article to the notice of M. Ferry, and to urge him to take steps to have this grossly calumnious statement respecting Her Majesty's Minister retracted by M. Ordega, or, in the event of its having been made without his knowledge and authority, to have a statement to that effect inserted in the "Gaulois."

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 121.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 290.)
My Lord, *Paris, May* 21, 1884.

THIS afternoon, in execution of the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's despatch No. 416 of the 13th instant, I took an opportunity of saying to M. Jules Ferry that Her Majesty's Government had received with much satisfaction his assurances that the French Government have no designs of any kind upon Morocco, and that there are no questions between the two countries which do not admit of an easy solution.

M. Jules Ferry repeated these assurances emphatically.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

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* No. 116.

No. 122.

*Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.**

(No. 458.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, May* 22, 1884.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your confidential information, copies of despatches, as marked in the margin,† upon the subject of French policy in Morocco.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 123.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26.)

(No. 49. Secret. Ext.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 17, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have this day addressed the following telegram to your Lordship:—

"An article published in the Paris journal, the 'Gaulois,' of the 8th instant, contains the account of language alleged to have been held by M. Ordega to M. Ferry, in which calumnious charges are made regarding me, the Italian, and other Representatives at Tangier."

I beg to suggest to your Lordship that M. Ordega should be called upon by the French Government to explain whether it was with his knowledge and sanction that this communication was made to the "Gaulois," and if it was so, that he be required to retract and to apologize, and that his retractation and apology be published in the "Gaulois."

Were no notice to be taken of this article, it would be impossible for me hereafter to have any communication whatever with a colleague who has dared to cause such calumnies to be published in a public journal, or to make such false charges to his Government regarding his colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 124.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26.)

(No. 50.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 17, 1884.

WITH reference to the subject of my telegram of this date, I have the honour to transmit copy of the article published in the "Gaulois" of the 8th instant, containing calumnious statements regarding me and my colleagues, which the editor affirms were communicated by M. Ordega to M. Ferry on the 7th instant. I have marked with red the passages which I consider to be of a libellous character.

As to the charge of my having been "the leader of intrigue" against M. Ordega, your Lordship, being in possession of all that I have written or said regarding his proceedings, will be the best judge whether such an accusation can be justified.

At the conclusion of the article M. Mermeix says: "Nous avons voulu nous faire l'écho impartial du langage tenu par un de nos Représentants officiels;" it is therefore evident that it is at the request or instigation of M. Ordega that these calumnies have been published in the "Gaulois."

I further transmit the translation of an article published in the Spanish journal "La Correspondencia" of the 12th instant, from which your Lordship will learn that at the demand of a Spanish diplomatist, a friend of the editor of the "Gaulois," the latter withdrew, in his journal of the 10th instant, the charges against M. Diosdado.

I beg to draw your Lordship's especial attention to the passages in this article,

* Also to Lord Ampthill (No. 143), Sir A. Paget (No. 82), Sir E. Thornton (No. 145), Lord Dufferin (No. 162), Sir S. Lumley (No. 115), Mr. de Bunsen (No. 66), and Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 24).
† No. 108 (not sent to Madrid) and No. 109 (not sent to Berlin).

which I have underlined in red, regarding M. Ordega's conduct in publishing such calumnies respecting his colleagues.

I trust that your Lordship will consider that the libellous charges made in the "Gaulois," and declared by the editor to have been communicated to M. Ferry by M. Ordega regarding one of Her Majesty's Representatives, cannot be passed unnoticed, and that a retractation and an apology should be required in a public form. Under any circumstances unless M. Ordega declares clearly that he never made use of such language regarding myself to M. Ferry or to the editor of the "Gaulois," it cannot be expected that I should hereafter hold any communication with him.

I avow that I am hardly surprised that M. Ordega, since his arrival in Paris, should have ventured to publish offensive language regarding me and other Representatives, for the "Réveil du Maroc," the local journal published at Tangier, which is the mouthpiece of M. Ordega, never ceases to attack or disparage my conduct in covert terms, though it is palpable to all who read the journal to whom the writer alludes, and also to put forward statements at variance with the truth with the view of extolling his own acts. I have hitherto regarded these attacks with silent contempt, though I might have retorted through the channel of Gibraltar or other journals.

Public journals are of course free to animadvert or to comment upon the policy pursued by foreign Representatives; but that a foreign Representative should himself make use of a local journal published under his patronage and guidance to introduce offensive and untruthful remarks regarding his colleagues is certainly a new feature in diplomacy, which, if permitted by Governments, must put an end to all social or even official intercourse between the offender and his colleagues, whom he reviles or attacks.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—I understand that the other local paper—"Al-Moghreb Al-aksa"—intends to publish to-morrow the article from "La Correspondencia."

J. H. D. H.

Inclosure 1 in No. 124.

Extract from the "Gaulois" of May 8, 1884.

[See Inclosure 2 in No. 126.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 124.

Extracts from "La Correspondencia de España" of May 12, 1884.*

(Translation.)

YESTERDAY, in reporting a conversation held in a private salon, I thought it opportune to give my opinion concerning the projects on Morocco which are attributed to France. To-day it is my duty as a patriot not only to repeat and to ratify what I said yesterday, but also to be the first in the Spanish press to protest against the language, so highly anti-diplomatic, which the "Gaulois" of this morning attributes to M. Ordega, the Minister of France at Tangier.

Under the signature of M. Mermeix here is what the Conservative organ of the Boulevard des Italiens pretends was related by M. Ordega to his hierarchical chief, M. Ferry, President of the Council and Minister of State for the Republic:—

"When M. Ordega arrived at Tangier" (thus this gentleman seems to have expressed himself yesterday evening to M. Ferry) "two years ago, he found his colleagues of the Diplomatic Body employed in a work which is not the one for which nations send out and pay their Ambassadors."

After a direct attack on the English Minister and the Italian Consul, M. Mermeix adds in his article (which is a true version of the Ministerial Conference):—

"All the European Representatives lived like fighting cocks ('coqs-en-pâte') at the Moorish Court, the most venal Court in the world. All, with the exception indeed of the German Minister, had caused themselves to be presented with lands and mines in that

* This communication emanates from a Spanish diplomatist residing at Paris. I think his name is M. Pratt. —J. H. D. H.

country, and all 'tripotaient à l'envi' (mixed themselves up *ad lib.* in dirty transactions) with the Ministers of the Sultan.

"The Minister of one State acted as broker for war material for the Empire, he of another Power was purveyor of wines to the Court. This one sold furniture to the Emperor, that one something else.

"Transformed thus into commercial travellers in foreign merchandize, they received like honourable bagmen their percentage, and extracted a profit upon whatever they sold in return for their good offices.

"M. Ordega did not join the Syndicate of his colleagues, and immediately became suspected of all.

"The greater part of the European population became accustomed to consider the French Residency as the only place in the Empire at which they could find justice. This moral force enabled M. Ordega to obtain a marked victory."

The French Minister at Tangier having beaten the drums in his own honour, with an orchestral accompaniment, while relating the incident of M. de Chavagnac, M. Mermeix puts into M. Ordega's mouth the following words:—

"Before proceeding to military conquest (should that be carried out) it is necessary to complete the moral conquest of the country by a wise and prudent diplomacy. At the present moment France aspires to obtain a Treaty which will open the world (!) to all Europeans."

I have had for eighteen years rather the honour than the good fortune to belong to the diplomatic career. I have been in Turkey, in China, in almost all the countries of Europe. I do not remember a precedent analogous to this one I relate. I do not believe that in the annals of cosmopolitan diplomacy there is a case of the chief of a Mission having allowed, with his knowledge, a journal to attribute to him the intention of discussing and insulting his colleagues.

M. Ordega not satisfied with condemning his colleagues at Tangier as prevaricators and thieves, during his conference with his chief, has thought it, if not useful, at least opportune that his opinion on those who represent the different Powers at Morocco, should be matter for publicity and notoriety.

There was a Redeemer and he was crucified though he was the Son of God, and Quixotism is out of place in these selfish and prosaic times. But I am a Spaniard, and Señor Diosdado, whom I had not the pleasure of knowing personally, succeeded me years ago at Lisbon as First Secretary to our Legation there. This double motive, therefore, impelled me to go this morning as soon as I read the article in the "Gaulois" to M. Mermeix. I found him in the editor's office and said to him:—

"Do you know that the language you ascribe to M. Ordega appears to me to be rash?"

"But it is exact."

"I beg your pardon, England and Italy, like our Holy Mother the Church, will have doctors who will know how to reply to the accusations brought against their Ministers by M. Ordega, which you have echoed, but I assure you that what you said is diametrically opposed to the semblance of truth and to the truth itself with regard to what refers to the Minister of Spain at Tangier."

"Positively, M. Ordega was inexhaustible in his praises of M. Diosdado."

"Then why did you not make an exception of him?"

"He did so. But at the last moment they cut short the end of my article, but if you wish it in to-morrow's issue, I will make the proper rectifications which you point out to me."

"Without fail, M. Mermeix?"

"Without fail. If you will pass by the office to-night I will read the proofs to you."

All imputations applicable to the Spanish Minister in Morocco will be withdrawn, but the secret designs will not be explained, which France must, and does hold on Morocco, and now more than ever it is incumbent upon the Madrid Cabinet to show itself a vigilant Argus on the other side of the Straits.

The "Gaulois" of the 10th publishes the following:—

"Yesterday there was great excitement in the diplomatic circles in consequence of the Conference held between the President of the Council, M. Ferry, and the French Minister in Morocco, M. Ordega, at which the affairs of this latter country were discussed at great length.

"We must repair without the least delay an omission of ours. If it is true that Sir John Drummond and M. Scovasso, the one Minister for England and the other for Italy, have committed more than one venial and hardly diplomatic error, we cannot say

the same of the Minister for Spain, whose conduct, according to what M. Ordega declared to M. Ferry, could not be more irreproachable nor more correct."

This correction confirms the letter from "Pierre de Paris" published in the "Correspondencia." The patriotic conduct of our distinguished correspondent is deserving of the highest praise.

No. 125.

Sir J. Lumley to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 85. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Rome, May* 17, 1884.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 101 of the 6th instant, I called on M. Mancini and had some conversation with him on the subject of the proceedings of the French Minister at Tangier.

M. Mancini said that the news from Morocco was very disquieting, for although the incident of the hauling down the French flag had been explained as the natural consequence of the departure from Tangier of the French Minister, the effect produced by it on all his colleagues and throughout the country (whether intentional or not) was that a rupture of the relations between the French Government had occurred.

As I had taken with me the copy of your Lordship's despatch No. 393 to Lord Lyons, relating your conversation with M. Waddington on the 3rd instant, I read it to M. Mancini in order to show him the positive terms in which M. Waddington had been authorized to assure your Lordship that the policy of France with regard to Morocco was absolutely unchanged, and that there could be no question of anything beyond a slight rectification of he frontier between that country and Algeria in the interior. M. Mancini said he had received a similar assurance, with the addition that the French Government was preparing to conclude a Treaty with Morocco, which would be for the benefit of all the Powers interested in that country.

Nevertheless, M. Mancini confessed that he was not reassured by this statement, for what, in fact, was the nature of the unchanged policy of France towards Morocco? It was marked by protection afforded to the subjects of the Emperor utterly at variance with the terms of the Treaty of Madrid; and it included, according to M. Ferry's own admission, a rectification of the frontier, or, in other words, the cession of a portion of the territory of Morocco to France, and the conclusion of a Treaty between the two countries; and after the experience Europe had gained of the result of the Treaty of Bardo in the relations between France and Tunis, it was impossible to say what might be the upshot of what was represented as a simple Treaty of Commerce between France and Morocco, which, it appeared, necessitated the presence at Paris of the Shereefian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

M. Mancini added that he would tell me in confidence that what made him believe more was going on than was apparent, was the circumstance that the French Government had on more than one occasion lately urged the Italian Government to take possession of Tripoli; to these overtures or suggestions he had replied that what Italy desired was that there should be no changes in the *status quo* of the Mediterranean bordering States, and he added that nothing would induce the Italian Government to take a step which France would certainly use as a pretext for carrying out the designs on Morocco which were attributed to her.

M. Mancini said it had been the desire of the Italian Government, as it had been that of Spain, to interest the Great Powers in some common action for the purpose of maintaining the *status quo* in Morocco, and it was with this view that Count Robilaut had been directed to speak to Count Kálnoky on the subject; the result, however, had not been encouraging, and in the opinion of the Spanish Government the matter had become of such an urgent character that they had frankly intimated to him their determination to come to terms with the French Government without further reference to the other Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. SAVILE LUMLEY.

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No. 126.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 301.)

My Lord, *Paris, May* 26, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a note verbale in which, in execution of the instruction conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 456 of the 21st instant, I have brought to M. Jules Ferry's notice the unwarrantable imputations respecting Her Majesty's Minister in Morocco, stated in the "Gaulois" newspaper to have been made to his Excellency by M. Ordega.

I inclose also herewith copies of the two articles in the "Gaulois" containing these statements.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 126.

Note Verbale.

LORD LYONS is directed to bring to the notice of his Excellency M. Jules Ferry an article which appeared in the Paris newspaper "Gaulois" of the 8th of this month, and which contains most unwarrantable statements with regard to Sir J. Drummond Hay, Her Majesty's Minister in Morocco, and to some other foreign Representatives in that country.

The "Gaulois" represents these statements to have been made to M. Jules Ferry himself by M. Ordega.

It is to be presumed that the article in question was inserted in the "Gaulois" without the authority or knowledge of M. Ordega; and if so, Lord Lyons is instructed to ask M. Jules Ferry to cause a notice to that effect to be published in the "Gaulois." If, however (as is alleged in the newspaper), the statements did, in fact, emanate from M. Ordega, Lord Lyons is directed to beg M. Jules Ferry to call upon M. Ordega to retract them.

Lord Lyons would more particularly direct attention to the following passages in the article:—

"Sir J. Drummond s'efforçait d'être aussi peu que possible Ministre de l'Angleterre. Il n'avait attiré dans le pays presque aucun de ses nationaux; il n'avait stipulé pour eux aucun avantage.

"Et tous les Ministres étrangers faisaient comme Sir J. D. Hay. Dans leurs postes, ils étaient comme dans des sinécures; ni leurs pays respectifs ni la civilisation générale ne profitaient de leur mission. Ils étaient tous inertes.

"Cette inertie s'explique par les intérêts particuliers des résidents Européens et par l'exemple de Sir J. D. Hay.

"Tous les Ministres Européens vivaient comme coqs-en-pâte auprès de la Cour du Maroc, la Cour la plus vénale du monde.

"Tous, à l'exception cependant du Ministre d'Allemagne (on voit que nous précisons) s'étaient fait donner des terres, des mines dans le pays. Et tous ils tripotaient à l'envi avec les Ministres du Sultan. Le Ministre de tel état faisait des fournitures militaires de l'Empire; tel autre approvisionnait la Cour de vins; celui-ci de meubles, celui-là vendait autre chose.

"Ainsi transformés en commissionnaires en marchandises les Ministres des Puissances Européennes percevaient comme d'honnêtes courtiers de petites commissions. Il se faisaient attribuer des pots-de-vin sur tous leurs marchés pour toutes leurs complaisances."

It seems also right to point out that while in a subsequent number of the "Gaulois" (that of the 10th instant) the charges are withdrawn, so far as they concern the Spanish Minister, they are reiterated as regards Her Majesty's Minister in the following terms:—

"Le Corps Diplomatique au Maroc.—On a été assez ému hier, dans le monde diplomatique, de l'exposé de la question Marocaine tel que l'a fait M. Ordega à M. Ferry, et que nous avons pu nous procurer.

"Une omission que nous avons commise doit être réparée sans retard. Si Sir J. Drummond et le Signor Scovasso, l'un Ministre d'Angleterre, l'autre d'Italie, se compromettent dans des affaires peu diplomatiques; il n'en est pas de même du Ministre d'Espagne, qui, M. Ordega l'a déclaré à M. Ferry, est d'une loyauté inattaquable."

Paris, May 26, 1884.

Inclosure 2 in No. 126.

Extract from the "Gaulois" of May 8, 1884.

AU MAROC.—Un diplomate Français qui fait beaucoup parler de lui dans la presse Européenne, M. Ordega, Ministre de la République à Tanger, est arrivé à Paris avant-hier.

M. Ordega est un diplomate de la carrière. Il appartint longtemps au personnel des bureaux, à l'Administration Centrale. Puis il occupa successivement plusieurs postes Consulaires en Europe, notamment en Autriche. Voilà deux ans qu'il est au Maroc, et jusqu'ici sa mission n'a pas manqué d'éclat.

M. Ordega est un homme de 45 ans environ, de taille moyenne. Ses allures sont vives; son abord très gracieux; il a l'air fort intelligent et énergique.

Maintenant voici l'exposé de la question Marocaine, tel que l'a fait M. Ordega à M. Jules Ferry, dans l'entretien qu'il a eu hier avec lui :

Lorsque M. Ordega arriva à Tanger, il y a deux ans, il y trouva ses collègues du Corps Diplomatique appliqués à une besogne qui n'est pas celle pour laquelle les nations entretiennent des Ambassadeurs.

Tous ces diplomates étaient depuis longtemps fixés au Maroc. L'Anglais, Sir John Drummond, qui est avec l'Italien, le grand meneur des intrigues anti-Françaises, à Tanger, est au Maroc depuis plus de trente ans.

Ce diplomate, vieilli dans son poste, y avait acquis une grande influence personnelle.

Cette influence tenait beaucoup plus à sa qualité d'ancien résident qu'à la mission qu'il remplissait; car Sir John Drummond s'efforçait d'être aussi peu que possible Ministre de l'Angleterre. Il n'avait attiré dans le pays presque aucun de ses nationaux; il n'avait stipulé pour eux aucun avantage.

Et tous les Ministres étrangers faisaient comme Sir John Drummond. Dans leurs postes, ils étaient comme dans des sinécures; ni leurs pays respectifs ni la civilisation générale ne profitaient de leur mission. Ils étaient tous inertes.

Cette inertie s'explique par les intérêts particuliers des résidents Européens et par l'exemple de Sir John Drummond.

Tous les Ministres Européens vivaient comme coqs-en-pâte auprès de la Cour du Maroc, la Cour la plus vénale du monde.

Tous, à l'exception cependant du Ministre d'Allemagne (on voit que nous précisons), s'étaient fait donner des terres, des mines dans le pays. Et tous ils tripotaient à l'envi avec les Ministres du Sultan. Le Ministre de tel État faisait les fournitures militaires de l'Empire; tel autre approvisionnait la Cour de vins; celui-ci de meubles, celui-là vendait autre chose.

Ainsi transformés en commissionnaires en marchandises, les Ministres des Puissances Européennes percevaient comme d'honnêtes courtiers de petites commissions. Ils se faisaient attribuer des pots-de-vin sur tous leurs marchés, pour toutes leurs complaisances.

On comprend que tous ces bolandistes ne fussent pas favorables à l'immigration Européenne. Tout Européen nouveau venu pouvait être un rival avec qui il faudrait partager, ou une mauvaise langue qui parlerait, découvrirait le pot-aux-roses et renverserait le pot-de-vin.

M. Ordega n'entra pas dans le syndicat de ses collègues.

Aussitôt il devint suspect à tous. Sir John Drummond fut le leader d'une intrigue contre le Ministre de France. Les moindres démarches de celui-ci étaient dénaturées: toutes révélaient bien des projets de conquête de la France sur le Maroc.

Sans s'émouvoir, M. Ordega fit terminer, à la satisfaction de nos nationaux, une série de litiges pendants entre Français et indigènes. Pour arriver à ce résultat, il s'adressa directement au Sultan, qui est l'homme le plus intelligent du Maroc, et au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Sidi Mohamed Bargach, esprit éclairé et même libéral.

La protection du Ministre de France s'étendit efficacement sur nos nationaux et sur nos protégés.

La plupart des Européens s'accoutumèrent à considérer la Résidence Française comme le seul lieu de l'Empire où ils pussent trouver justice. Cette force morale permit à M. Ordega de remporter une grande victoire.

Le Shérif d'Ouassan vint un jour lui demander sa protection.

Ce Shérif, qui descend de Mahomet par les femmes et qui est cousin du Sultan, est le chef religieux du Maroc. Très intelligent, très libéral, il avait déjà rendu à la France des services contre Bou-Amena et Si-Sliman.

Cela l'avait rendu un peu suspect au Corps Diplomatique de Tanger. D'autre part, les grands biens possédés par la famille du Shérif excitaient bien des cupidités. Craignant pour sa vie et surtout pour celle des siens, dans un pays où on coupe si facilement la tête, le Shérif d'Ouassan vint avec ses fils à la Résidence de France:

Immédiatement après cette visite, il se produisit un incident qui permit à M. Ordega de montrer à tous que la protection de la France n'était pas un vain mot.

Au retour de Tanger, en rentrant à Ouassan, les fils du Shérif furent insultés. Le Gouverneur d'Ouassan, nommé par le Sultan, encouragea les insulteurs. M. Ordega se rendit auprès de l'Empereur, et il en obtint la révocation du Gouverneur. Les coupables furent arrêtés. Puis les fils du Shérif leur firent grâce.

Cet incident provoqua un redoublement de colère chez Sir John Drummond et ses collègues. Mais M. Ordega n'en fut point troublé; et, quand arriva l'affaire du Comte de Chavagnac, il ne montra pas moins d'énergie.

M. de Chavagnac avait acquis des terres au Riff, pays montagneux, au sud du Maroc. Quand il voulut en prendre possession, on lui objecta que les étrangers n'avaient pas le droit de posséder de la terre au Maroc.

"M. de Chavagnac s'adressa au Ministre de France, qui lui fit rendre justice. C'est alors que les colères des Agents étrangers firent explosion. Sir John Drummond fit télégraphier par un de ces employés, qui est correspondant de l'Agence Reuter, que la France, manifestement, voulait faire une expédition au Maroc.

"Le Consul d'Italie entreprit la même campagne dans le Secolo de Milan. Aujourd'hui, toute l'Europe croit, sur la foi de ces intéressés, que la France prépare une seconde expédition de Tunisie.

"Cela n'est pas vrai.

"Avant de faire la conquête militaire, si on la fait jamais, il faut achever la conquête morale du pays, par une sage et prudente diplomatie. Présentement la France ne veut qu'obtenir un Traité qui ouvre le monde à tous les Européens

"Dans quelques jours le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Sidi-Mohamed Bargach, sera à Paris. Ce diplomate est à Marseille. On va négocier avec lui un Traité définissant le droit de propriété pour les Européens au Maroc, leur permettant de pénétrer dans le pays."

Il s'agit de la France à l'étranger. Nous avons voulu nous faire l'écho impartial du langage tenu par un de ses Représentants officiels.

(Signé) MERMEIX.

Inclosure 3 in No. 126.

Extract from the "Gaulois" of May 10, 1884.

LE CORPS DIPLOMATIQUE AU MAROC.—On a été assez ému hier, dans le monde diplomatique, de l'exposé de la question Marocaine tel que l'a fait M. Ordega à M. Ferry, et que nous avons pu nous procurer.

Une omission que nous avons commise doit être réparée sans retard. Si Sir John Drummond et le Signor Scovasso, l'un Ministre d'Angleterre, l'autre d'Italie, se compromettent dans des affaires peu diplomatiques, il n'en est pas de même du Ministre d'Espagne, qui, M. Ordega l'a déclaré à M. Ferry, est d'une loyauté inattaquable.

No. 127.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 302.) *Paris, May* 26, 1884.

My Lord,

GENERAL MENABREA, the Italian Ambassador, called upon me yesterday, and asked me whether I intended to take any steps with regard to the calumnious article in the "Gaulois" of the 8th May, respecting the British and Italian Representatives at Tangier.

I told General Menabrea that I had received instructions from your Lordship on the subject, and, that I intended to send without delay a *note verbale* to M. Jules Ferry respecting this matter. I added that the purport of my note would be to request that M. Jules Ferry, if the statements had been made without the knowledge or authority of

M. Ordega, would cause a notice to that effect to be put into the "Gaulois," and on the other hand, if the statements did in fact proceed from M. Ordega, then to beg that M. Jules Ferry would call upon M. Ordega to retract them.

General Menabrea said that he should very probably take a similar course with regard to the article so far as it concerned M. Scovasso, the Italian Minister at Tangier.

I have transmitted to your Lordship, in my immediately preceding despatch, a copy of the *note verbale* which I have in fact sent in to-day to M. Jules Ferry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 128.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 303.)
My Lord, *Paris, May 26, 1884.*

I THINK it worth while to send your Lordship the inclosed article from the "Journal des Débats," by M. Gabriel Charmes,* although it is rather long, because it seems to me to state pretty clearly the views relative to the affairs of Morocco, which are very prevalent in France at this time.

It contains the ordinary unfounded charges against England and her Representative at Tangier, and betrays the usual jealousy of the influence possessed by Sir John Drummond Hay. It does not, indeed, repeat in the same gross terms the calumnies of the "Gaulois." It contents itself with making the strange assertions that, from having lived so long among the people of Morocco, Sir J. D. Hay has adopted their ways of thinking, speaking, and acting; that he has come to regard the cause of his family and his dependents as the cause of England herself, and that he makes it his great object to close Morocco against Europeans, and to allow it to be entered only by a few of his own countrymen, in the hope that little by little they will appropriate to themselves all the resources of the country.

To England the article attributes the design, which it admits to be entirely unpractical of making herself mistress of the entrance of the Mediterranean by adding the possession of Tangier to that of Gibraltar. It alleges, in the course of an elaborate defence of the conduct of M. Ordega with regard to protecting the Sheikh of Wazan, that this Sheikh sought the Protectorate of France, "in spite of the numerous efforts of the English Agent to draw him over to England."

Spain is represented as dreaming of establishing a Spanish Empire in Morocco; but it is urged that as she evidently is not strong enough to do this, her interests are really identical with those of France.

The policy of France is described in the following terms:—

"Nous ne rêvons, quoiqu'on en dise, aucune acquisition nouvelle en Afrique; a Tunisie et l'Algérie nous suffisent; nous ne voulons déborder ni sur la Tripolitaine ni sur le Maroc; nous voulons demeurer également en paix avec ces deux pays, où il nous est impossible de renoncer à exercer l'influence que le voisinage de notre grande Colonie rend nécessaire, mais où nous confondons absolument nos intérêts avec ceux de la civilisation Européenne."

As your Lordship is aware, the "Journal des Débats" is an entirely unofficial newspaper.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 129.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28.)

(No. 51.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May 17, 1884.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit the translation of a letter addressed to me by the Vizier in pursuance of instructions he had received from the Sultan, requesting me to make known to His Shereefian Majesty whether I consider the proceedings of M. Ordega are in pursuance of instructions received from the French Government, or whether he

* Not printed.

has acted on his own responsibility, and stating that the language held by the French military officers at the Moorish Court, and by persons protected by the French, has led His Majesty to apprehend that war is imminent, and therefore His Shereefian Majesty desires to be prepared and to give timely notice to Moorish subjects.

On the receipt of your Lordship's telegrams of the 3rd and 10th instant, I communicated their substance to Hadj M. Torres, which he reported to the Moorish Court, and I have addressed a letter, of which I have the honour to transmit a translation, to the Vizier, in reply to his query.

The French Government has given to Her Majesty's Government formal assurances that friendly relations exist between themselves and the Government of His Shereefian Majesty, and that they do not desire to create disturbances in the Sultan's dominions, but it is evident that the acts and language of M. Ordega have produced on the minds of the Sultan, of his Ministers, and of the population, impressions entirely at variance with these assurances.

M. Ordega will probably have led M. Ferry to believe that I have induced the Sultan and his Government to apprehend that the French Government menaces the stability of his throne. I have only to refer to the several letters I have received from the Vizier, which I transmitted to your Lordship, to prove that no information has been imparted by me which has led the Sultan and his Government to entertain their present apprehensions; on the contrary, I have sought to allay them.

It is not only the Government, but the population also, who are alarmed; the business of merchants is also injuriously affected. Her Majesty's Consul informs me that the agents of British merchants have made inquiry whether it will be safe for them to send goods into the interior.

M. Montfraix continues to refuse to receive any written communication from the Government or local authorities. The agents of the Shereef of Wazan are engaged in purchasing arms, and a colleague informed me that letters from the Shereef to his sons at Wazan, which are not kept secret, warn them to be prepared, as France is bent upon war with Morocco. The authority of the Sultan is set at defiance by the Shereef, of which I will give your Lordship the following instance, as reported to me by the Basha of Tangier.

The Basha had received late orders from the Sultan to settle the claim of Mr. Manuel Novella, the clerk of Her Majesty's Consulate, for the robbery at his house in July 1880. As justice had not been done, this claim was brought forward again when I was at the Court in 1882, and orders were then given by the Sultan to the late Governor of Anjera, Kaid Kanja, to settle it. A small payment on account of the claim was then effected. When it came to my knowledge, at the end of last year, that the claims of French citizens at Tangier for robberies of their stores, houses, or property were paid by the authorities in consequence of the peremptory demands of the French Legation, I reported to the Vizier that the claim of the British clerk still remained unsettled, and I required that British subjects should be treated as favourably as other foreign subjects. Orders were then sent by the Sultan to the Basha of Tangier, who, on the death of the late Governor of Anjera, was appointed Governor of that province also, to pay the claim, and the Sultan sent an officer of rank with ten troopers to support the Basha in requiring a settlement by the inhabitants of the village of Ain Hamra, in Anjera, whither some of the robbers had fled with the stolen property, which was not recovered.

The inhabitants of this and other villages took refuge with the Shereef Hadj Abdesselam, and declared that they were under his protection; and the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. Montfraix, sent word to the Basha by the Arabic clerk of his Legation that if he interfered with these dependents of the Shereef before M. Ordega returned he would do so at his peril.

The Basha thereupon wrote to M. Montfraix to inquire whether the persons whose names he gave were protected. The letter was returned to him unopened.

The Basha has now dispatched public notaries, accompanied by the Sultan's troopers, to these villages, to take note of the declaration of the inhabitants whether they refuse to obey His Majesty's orders.

I have informed the Basha that I make no claim upon the inhabitants of Anjera on account of this long-pending claim for the robbery of the house of a British subject, but I require that he should settle it in same manner as similar claims of other foreign subjects were settled.

I recommended, under present circumstances, that he should avoid doing anything, without orders from the Sultan, which might produce a conflict between his troops and the inhabitants of Anjera.

I have related this incident to show how the protection afforded to the Shereef and his followers gives rise to a direct interference with the authority of the Sultan's officers, and will lead ere long to the subversion of all government in this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 129.

The Vizier to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.) 12 *Rajeb*, 1301 (*May* 8, 1884).

OUR Lord the Sultan has directed me to write to you that His Majesty is of opinion that the French Minister is acting with evil intentions, which must be better known to you. His Shereefian Majesty is not certain whether his proceedings are occasioned by orders from his Government or whether they emanate from himself.

His conduct surprises His Majesty the more as he (M. Ordega) had always been treated by His Majesty with friendly consideration and with a desire to satisfy just requests, in accordance with that friendly understanding which existed between the French Government and His Shereefian Majesty's predecessors, from the time of the Sultan Mulai Abderrahman, about forty years ago.

The apprehensions entertained by His Shereefian Majesty have been increased by what it is stated has been written (from Tangier) to the French military officers at the Shereefian Court, who have, in consequence, wished to depart, and what has also been written to protected persons in this town by the French, which has also been reported to us.

We therefore, depending on your friendship and trustworthiness, beg you to make known to us what is your opinion of the reports that are spread here, and whether they proceed from the French Minister or from other source, so that His Shereefian Majesty may take steps, if necessary, to warn his subjects—who are now, as it were, lying dormant—to be prepared (for hostilities), so that they may not be taken by surprise, as happened at Tetuan,* when a hostile advance was made before many (of the tribes) heard of it, and then happened what happened. Let us know the real state of affairs.

With every good wish! Finished.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN ALARLY BEN AL MOKHTAR.

Inclosure 2 in No. 129.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to the Vizier.

(Translation.) 20 *Rajeb*, 1301 (*May* 16, 1884).

I HAVE received your letter of the 12th Rajeb (8th May), in which you inform me that you are directed by His Shereefian Majesty to inquire of me whether the conduct of the French Minister, which has given rise to grave apprehensions, proceeds from directions received from his Government, or emanates solely from himself.

In a late letter, which must have crossed that to which I now reply, I informed you that I had received tidings by telegraph from Her Majesty's Government that the French Government had given the strongest assurances that friendly relations existed between them and the Moorish Government, that they had no intention of breaking them off, or of acting in any hostile manner, or of creating disturbances within the dominions of the Sultan. In the French journals this is repeated, and it is said that the French Minister, M. Ordega, has stated that he is on the best of terms with the Sultan and Cid Mohammed Bargash, and that he had gone to Paris to arrange the terms of a Treaty.

I hear that Cid Mohammed Bargash is now in Paris. I request you to inform me whether he has received instructions from the Sultan to enter into a Treaty or other pact with the French Government, and on what subject.

Copies of the Memoranda of the Sultan, and of the letter from Hadj Mohammed Torres to the French Minister before his departure, which were returned, have been

* The Spanish War.

forwarded by me, and by the German, Italian, and Spanish Ministers to our respective Governments, but no reply has yet been received.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 130.

Consul-General Playfair to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28.)

(No. 5.)

My Lord, *Algiers, May* 24, 1884.

REFERRING to my letter No. 3, dated the 21st ultimo, I have the honour to report that the French Mediterranean squadron, whose arrival I reported in my despatches Nos. 45 and 46, Consular, of the 13th and 14th instant, has left Algiers for Toulon. It is believed that as soon as it has taken in a supply of provisions it will proceed to Morocco.

Ever since the arrival of the squadron at Algiers, rumours have been in circulation that France has the intention of insisting upon the rectification of the frontier between Algiers and Morocco.

It is possible that, as in the case of the Khomair, this may develop into more extensive operations. There can be no doubt, however, that the western frontier of Algeria is as bad as it can be.

I was so impressed with this idea when I wrote my "Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce," that I stated as follows:—

"The French have not shown their usual sagacity in fixing the boundaries of their Colony, or rather, I should say, a desire to avoid even the appearance of encroaching on their neighbours, and perhaps some pressure from other European Powers has induced them to abandon much valuable territory, which, if the prescription of eighteen centuries deserves to be taken into account, undoubtedly belong to Algeria. . . . Two great landmarks remained constant during all the political and geographical changes of North Africa—the River Tusca, or Oued-el-Kebir, formed the eastern boundary of Numidia, and the Malna, or Molochath, the modern Molonia, the western one of Mauritania Cæsariensis, dividing it from Tingitana, the present Empire of Morocco. . . .

"The French claimed the ancient line; the Moroccans demanded the Tafna, and, as a compromise, the Kiss was accepted—a small river which does not run more than 12 miles along the boundary line. This latter compromise was the less necessary, as the country in dispute was actually in the military occupation of the French. The consequence is that Algeria has no natural frontiers at all, and it has on either side of it one of the strongest, most warlike, and most turbulent tribes in North Africa, the Khomair to the east, and the Beni Snassen to the west."

I trouble your Lordship with these observations to show that the French really have a strong case for wishing to rectify their frontiers; whether they will content themselves with doing so is another question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No. 131.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28.)

(No. 53.)

My Lord, *Tangier, May* 19, 1884.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 50 of the 17th instant, I have the honour to transmit the local journal "Al-Moghreb Al-aksa" of yesterday's date, in which is published the article in the "Correspondencia" of the 12th May* regarding the calumnious charges made against myself and other Representatives by M. Ordega in the "Gaulois" of the 8th instant.†

I further transmit a translation of extracts from a leading article in the "Al-Moghreb Al-aksa," giving expression to the feelings of the public in Tangier in general regarding the state of agitation which has been produced throughout Morocco by the proceedings of M. Ordega, and the conviction generally entertained by the Sultan and population that the French Government have hostile intentions.

* See Inclosure 2 in No. 124. † See Inclosure 1 in No. 124.

In confirmation of this I annex an extract from a private letter addressed to me by Kaid Maclean, the Military Instructor of the troops, who resides at the Court.

The French Government may be perfectly sincere in the assurances they have given your Lordship that they desire to remain in peaceful relations with His Shereefian Majesty; if so, the conduct of M. Ordega is doubly culpable, for the impression left on the mind of every one by his proceedings is that France is bent upon war, and encourages the Shereef of Wazan in his rebellious acts and aspirations.

An account is given, as your Lordship will see, in the "Al-Moghreb Al-aksa," of what has taken place at Anjera on the part of the inhabitants of three villages, who have placed themselves under the protection of the Shereef, and consequently of the French Legation.

I learnt this morning that the officer and troopers sent by the Basha, in pursuance of orders from the Sultan, to these villages had been warned off, and told that if they had any communication to make, it must be made through the Shereef of Wazan, to whose control they would alone submit.

It is needless for me to point out to your Lordship that the subversion of the Sultan's authority throughout his dominions will take place if the French Government continue to support the Shereef and his dependents in such acts of rebellion.

I am informed that Abd-el-Gebbar has left Wazan, having sent in to the Sultan his resignation as Magistrate.* He retains, I understand, the post of Superintendent of "Zanïas," or Sanctuaries. The Lieutenant-Governor of Laraiche has been appointed "Khaleefa," or Chief Magistrate of Wazan, but has been directed not to permit the Shereef, Hadj Abdesselam, or his sons to exercise any temporal authority, such as arresting, imprisoning, or flogging offenders.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 131.

Extracts from Article in the "Al-Moghreb Al-aksa."

(Translation.)

WE are unfortunately as yet unable to afford to our readers—eager to gather if only some indication on the subject—any news as to the solution of the drama which is being enacted.

Governments of high standing give assurances of a peaceful character, and—to the no small astonishment of those who are witnesses of the events which are passing—even try to convince us that never have the relations between France and Morocco been on so friendly a footing as at present.

The Legation of the Republic, on the one hand, explains in a manner *sui generis* the absence of the tricolor from their flag-staff; whilst, on the other hand, their mouth-piece† in a confused and contradictory manner appears to act upon a hint to tranquillize the public mind by giving peaceful assurances, whilst at the same time it admits that the relations are strained.

Public opinion, and the press in Europe, are beginning to occupy themselves with this subject, and vigorous articles, like that we quote in another column, discuss the burning question, descending for that purpose to personalities—an example which the character of our journal prevents our following.

We will, therefore, continue to fulfil our mission, which is to chronicle facts, expressing thereupon our modest, but honest opinion.

Two events have occurred during the past week, which manifest in a palpable manner the pretended cordiality reigning between France and Morocco. A short time since, the inhabitants of three villages in Anjera presented themselves to the Shereef of Wazan in order to make their formal submission to him. One of these villages, Ain-el-Hamra, carried its veneration for the Shereef to such lengths that they wished to compel their "tolba"‡ to substitute the Shereef's name in the public prayers for the name of the Sultan.

On hearing of this event the Moorish Government dispatched a Kaid with ten soldiers, who were ordered, with the assistance of the soldiers under the Basha of Tangier, to conduct the chief men of Ain-el-Hamra to the Shereefian Court. As soon as the Shereef of Wazan received tidings of this he protested against the action of the Govern-

* See advice given to Sultan, as reported in my despatch No. 33, Most Confidential, April 9, 1884.
† "Le Réveil du Maroc."
‡ Who read the prayers in the mosques.

ment, and was doubtless about to apply to the French Legation for assistance, when the latter sent its Arabic scribe to the Basha with a message, warning him that France would not permit that the people of this village should suffer the least molestation. The Basha, however, must have been found in an unyielding mood, for he maintained his duty was to carry out the orders of the Sultan; thereupon the French Chargé d'Affaires had to send a similar message to the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, with his greater knowledge and experience in such matters, has doubtless persuaded the Basha to hold his hand, and report the affair to the Court, in order to avoid fresh complications.

It is thus seen that there are no evil intentions. The relations are perfectly cordial. The French Government gives peaceful assurances to all the Great Powers. We are mere visionaries; but the fact remains that, as he have pointed out in former Articles, France and the protection afforded to the Shereef have created an important French State within the Moorish State.

* * * * * *

The openly warlike attitude of the Shereef, the no less warlike attitude of the Sultan, who has given orders that even the most distant tribes in Soos should be forewarned, the passive resistance in refusing to accede to the dismissal of the Governor of Wazan, in spite of the assertions that he has been dismissed, the presence of Cid Mohammed Bargash in Paris, the problematic journey of the Count de Chavagnac to Reef, are facts so diametrically contrary to the tranquillizing news they send us from Europe, that we cannot but admit that the situation is most complicated, and that there is no peaceful solution possible that would be honourable to both nations.

We are not here treating of the ordinary questions we are wont to discuss. We are not treating of one of those frequent abuses of power which result in the dismissal or punishment of some official. We are not treating of pecuniary claims, which have ended in the payment of a few thousand dollars more or less. We are not treating of demands to guarantee or favour commerce, the result of which would in no way compromise the existence and sovereignty of the Sultan. We are treating of a matter of life and death for this Government and for this Sovereign—a Sovereign who, as head Magistrate of the Moorish Empire, unites in his person, as we have already said, the supreme spiritual headship with the chief civil and military authority. France, by putting forward as a rival spiritual chief her protégé, the Shereef of Wazan, by extending her protection to all who declare themselves her partizans, in disregard of the supreme authority of the Sultan, creates such a state of anarchy in the country that she renders the very existence of the Moorish Empire utterly impossible, and impossible also the recognition of such a totally abnormal state of affairs by the Moorish Government.

Inclosure 2 in No. 131.

Kaid Maclean to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Extract.) *Meknez, May* 14, 1884.

THE Sultan is very anxious about the French; the chief French officer here has told them at the Court that the French Minister had left Tangier, and has written to tell him to have everything prepared to start at a moment's notice.

I was sent for and asked what I thought. I told the "Hajeb"* that I thought the French Minister at Tangier is a hot-headed, indiscreet person, and that my idea is that it is all done to frighten the Sultan.

Yesterday letters were sent out by the Sultan to the different Governors to be prepared for a military expedition.

No. 132.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 29.)

(No. 311.) *Paris, May* 28, 1884.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 301 and 302, both of the day before yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Jules Ferry spoke to me this afternoon of the *note verbale* which I had addressed to him, respecting the calumnious statements respecting Sir J. Drummond Hay, represented in the "Gaulois" to have been made to his Excellency by M. Ordega.

M. Jules Ferry said that he wondered that so much importance should be attached

to statements of the kind in a newspaper well-known to be in strong opposition to the Government, and to have no means of obtaining information from official sources.

He could, he said, assure me that no statements at all resembling those in the "Gaulois" had been made to him by M. Ordega. There was, he added, no foundation whatever for the assertion that M. Ordega had made such a report to him as the "Gaulois" mentioned. M. Ordega had most certainly never accused his colleagues at Tangier of the "turpitudes" which he was alleged by the "Gaulois" to have attributed to them. The tone of his language had been entirely different.

I said that these facts would render the treatment of the matter easy, and that I trusted that a contradiction of the statements in the "Gaulois" would be made by his Excellency with the same publicity as that with which the calumnies themselves had been put forward.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 133.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 312.)
My Lord, *Paris, May 28, 1884.*

I ASKED M. Jules Ferry this afternoon what was the object of the visit to Paris of Cid Bargash, the Morocco Minister.

M. Jules Ferry answered that Cid Bargash had at first spoken to him of the demand of M. Ordega for the dismissal of a Governor, but as the Telegraph had almost immediately announced that the dismissal had taken place, there was no more to be said on that subject.

There was, M. Jules Ferry added, no foundation for the stories in the newspapers respecting the conclusion of a new Treaty between France and Morocco. France had no desire to change the *status quo*, and his instructions to M. Ordega were to pursue a strictly conservative policy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 134.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 482.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, May 30, 1884.*

I HAVE to convey to your Excellency my approval of the *note verbale*, copy of which is inclosed in your despatch No. 301 of the 26th May, in which you have called M. Jules Ferry's attention to the calumnious statements respecting Sir J. D. Hay, Her Majesty's Minister in Morocco, which recently appeared in the "Gaulois" newspaper and were attributed to M. Ordega.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 135.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 25.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 30, 1884.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 51 of the 17th instant, and I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the note which you addressed to the Vizir El-Mokhtar on the 16th instant in a reply to a communication from him asking for your opinion as to the conduct of the French Minister at Tangier.

I have to add that your action in the matter of the claim of Mr. Manuel Novella, the Clerk of Her Majesty's Consulate, for compensation for the robbery of his house in July 1880 is likewise approved.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 136.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 26.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 31, 1884.*

WITH reference to your despatches Nos. 49 and 50 of the 17th instant, and to my telegram No. 4 of the 21st instant, on the subject of the calumnious statements respecting yourself which appeared in the "Gaulois," I transmit to you herewith, copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris reporting a conversation with M. Ferry, in the course of which his Excellency denied that any such statements as those published in the "Gaulois" had been made to him by M. Ordega, and declared that the tone of that gentleman's language had been entirely different to that attributed to him.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 137.

Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received June 2.)

(No. 140. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, May 30, 1884.*

MR. DE BUNSEN, in his despatch No. 55, Confidential, of the 8th instant, inclosed in your Lordship's despatch to me No. 143, Confidential, of the 22nd instant, upon the subject of French policy in Morocco, reports that the Minister of State assured him that "he had the authority of Prince Bismarck himself" in saying that Germany would view the proposed policy (of Spain in Morocco) with great satisfaction.

Count Hatzfeldt, in conversation with me, has never admitted as much, and has generally asserted that Germany did not wish to interfere or commit herself at present in regard to Morocco.

Those among my colleagues who have alluded to the subject in conversation with his Excellency share my impression, and I therefore conclude that Prince Bismarck's instructions to the German Minister at Madrid are not to be communicated to the Powers for the time being.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AMPTHILL.

No. 138.

Earl Granville to Sir S. Lumley.†

(No. 124.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 4, 1884.*

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch as marked in the margin,‡ on the subject of the visit to Paris of Cid Bargash, the Morocco Minister.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 139.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.§

(No. 29. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 5, 1884.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copies of despatches, as marked in the margin, relative to France and Morocco.‖

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* No. 132.

† Also to Sir A. Paget (No. 89); Lord Ampthill (No 156); Sir E. Thornton (No. 160); the Earl of Dufferin (No. 181); Mr. de Bunsen (No. 72); and Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 28).

‡ No. 133. § Also to Mr. de Bunsen (No. 75). ‖ Nos. 125 and 130.

No. 140.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received June 6.)

(No. 55.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May 28, 1884.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit the translation of a letter addressed to me by the Vizier conveying the Sultan's thanks for the information I had transmitted to the Court regarding the assurances given to Her Majesty's Government by the French Government, that they desire to maintain friendly relations with the Sultan, and have no intention of creating disturbances in His Majesty's dominions.

The proceedings of M. Ordega and of M. Montfraix, who was left in charge of the French Legation, have been so totally at variance with these assurances, that the Sultan was led to suppose that a rupture of relations and war were imminent. Orders were sent to the different Bashas and Chiefs of all the tribes to dispatch large bodies of cavalry and infantry to Meknez. British Consular officers confirms these tidings. The Shereef of Wazan continues to extend protection to villages in Anjera, and to encourage a spirit of insurrection in that district against the Sultan's authority.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 140.

The Vizier to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)
(After compliments.) *Meknez, May 22, 1884.*

WE have received your letter replying to the query we had put, whether the acts of the French Minister proceeded from orders received from his Government, or emanated from himself only. You acquaint us that you had been informed by your Government that the French Government have no intention of altering their relations with the Government of Morocco, and that they do not desire to create disturbances in these dominions, and you inform us that these assurances are repeated in French journals, and that they state that the French Minister had declared that he is in friendly relations with His Shereefian Majesty and with his Minister, Cid Mohammed Bargash, and that he had gone to Paris to negotiate a Treaty.

You also make known to us that the Minister, Cid Mohammed Bargash, had arrived at Paris, and you request us to inform you whether he has received orders from His Shereefian Majesty to negotiate a Treaty, or to enter into any stipulations with the French Government.

You further inform us that you had forwarded to the British and Austrian Governments copies of the Memoranda and letters as mentioned by you, and that the three other Ministers had also forwarded copies to their respective Governments, but that you had not yet received any reply, nor had they.

We communicated to His Shereefian Majesty your letter, and he has had under his consideration all you have stated; His Majesty learnt with much pleasure that which your Government had communicated to you, and it tranquillized His Majesty's mind, and he invoked God's blessing on you, and ordered me to request you always to send tidings, whether good or evil, for His Shereefian Majesty has greater confidence in the information you may afford him than in that which he may receive from others, for you are the trusted and well-beloved Minister of a friendly Government, moreover, you take a friendly interest in affairs which affect His Shereefian Majesty. Friends like you are known by their acts of good-will and trustiness.

His Shereefian Majesty had never informed the (French) Minister that he would enter into any stipulation at the present time, and no communication has passed between him (the French Minister) and His Shereefian Majesty on such a subject, nor has His Majesty authorized Cid Mohammed Bargash to treat thereupon, but he sent to the latter the Memorandum of proceedings (of French Minister) through Hadj Mohammed Torres, and if Cid Mohammed Bargash has of his own accord spoken on such a subject (Treaty), we have no knowledge of it, but there is no intention on our part to entertain such a project.

With regard to you and the other Ministers having transmitted to your respective Governments copies of the Memorandum and letters as above mentioned, as was the

desire of His Shereefian Majesty, you and they are thanked for having done so. May you attain all the welfare you can wish for.

Finished.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN EL ARBY BEN EL MOKHTAR.

No. 141.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9.)

(No. 56.)
My Lord, *Tangier, June 2, 1884.*

M. ORDEGA arrived at Tangier on the 31st ultimo on board the French iron-clad "Redoutable."

Before he landed the town batteries saluted the French flag with twenty-one guns, which were returned by the "Redoutable." The Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Basha of Tangier, and a guard of honour, received the French Minister on landing. The Shereef of Wazan was also on the pier, accompanied by about fifty of his followers.

I understand that Hadj Mohammed Torres received a letter from Cid Mohammed Bargash, who is still at Paris, directing that the batteries should be the first to salute the French flag, and that he and all the authorities should go down to the landing place to receive the French Minister.

It is reported that the "Redoutable" will remain in these waters until the arrival of a French squadron, which is expected here about the 18th of this month.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 142.

*Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.**

(No. 514.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, June 11, 1884.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 458 of the 22nd ultimo, I transmit herewith, for your Excellency's confidential information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin, with reference to the attitude of Germany in regard to affairs in Morocco.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 143.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 12.)

(No. 342.)
My Lord, *Paris, June 11, 1884.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 482 of the 30th ultimo, and to previous correspondence, I have the honour to inclose a copy of a note which has been addressed to me by M. Jules Ferry, in answer to the remonstrances which I made by your Lordship's order against the calumnious statements respecting Her Majesty's Minister in Morocco, which the "Gaulois" alleged to have been made to M. Jules Ferry himself by M. Ordega.

The note recites a communication which M. Ordega appears to have telegraphed to M. Jules Ferry for insertion in the "Gaulois." It states that M. Jules Ferry does not doubt that M. Ordega has given every proper explanation to his colleagues at Tangier, and it adds that the only effect of publishing M. Ordega's communication now would be to revive a painful controversy, and that for this reason M. Jules Ferry has not sent it to the "Gaulois," but hopes that his present note will suffice to bring the affair to an end ("clore l'incident").

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

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* Also to Sir A. Paget (No. 93); Sir S. Lumley (No. 133); Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 30); Mr. de Bunsen (No. 76); Sir E. Thornton (No. 167); and the Earl of Dufferin (No. 186, Confidential).

† No. 137.

Inclosure in No. 143.

Note Verbale.

LE Ministre des Affaires Étrangères aussitôt après avoir reçu la note verbale que son Excellence l'Ambassadeur l'Angleterre lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser à la date du 26 Mai dernier, a communiqué la teneur de ce document au Ministre de France à Tanger, en l'invitant à fournir des explications au sujet des allégations contenues dans le journal "Le Gaulois" du 8 Mai.

Dès que M. Ordega, à son arrivée à Tanger, a su que l'on avait pu ajouter quelque créance à ces assertions, il a transmis, par le télégraphe, au Département des Affaires Étrangères, le démenti suivant destiné à être inséré dans le journal qui l'avait mis en cause :—

"*Pour le 'Gaulois.'*

"On me signale, à mon retour au Maroc, deux articles du 'Gaulois' des 8 et 10 Mai, contenant un exposé de déclarations que j'aurais faites à M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères sur la question du Maroc et sur le Corps Diplomatique à Tanger.

"Je tiens à faire savoir que je n'ai pas tenu le langage qui m'est attribué dans ces deux articles. Des motifs de convenance et de discrétion professionnelle s'opposaient, d'ailleurs, à ce que je divulguasse les entretiens que j'avais pu avoir avec le Ministre.

"Je vous prie d'insérer cette dépêche dans votre plus prochain numéro.

(Signé) "ORDEGA."

Je ne doute pas que le Ministre de France au Maroc n'ait déjà exprimé à ses collègues à Tanger sa surprise et son regret pour les propos qu'on lui prêtait, et ne leur ait donné toutes les explications désirables. Aujourd'hui il semble que la publication du télégramme de M. Ordega n'aurait d'autre résultat que de réveiller une fâcheuse polémique qui est heureusement apaisée. C'est pour ce motif que M. Ferry n'a pas cru devoir l'envoyer au "Gaulois," estimant que la présente communication suffisait à clore l'incident. Il espère que Lord Lyons voudra bien se ranger à sa manière de voir.

Paris, le 10 *Juin*, 1884.

No. 144.

Question asked in the House of Commons, June 13, 1884.

Dr. Cameron,—To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any despatches have been received from the British Minister in Morocco respecting the protection granted by France to the Grand Shereef of Wazan, and its bearing on the relations between Morocco and the other Powers parties to the Treaty of Madrid;

And whether he proposes to submit any papers on the subject to Parliament.

Answer.

Her Majesty's Government do not consider it advisable to present any papers at present; but I may inform my honourable friend that the assurances received from the French Government that they have no designs upon Morocco, and repudiate all idea of establishing a Protectorate, or of promoting troubles in the country, have been communicated to Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, and through him to the Moorish Government.

No. 145.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14.)

(No. 57.)

My Lord, *Tangier, June* 7, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a paragraph inserted in the "Réveil du Maroc" of the 4th instant. This journal, as I have mentioned to your Lordship in past despatches, is alleged to be under the control of M. Ordega, and many of the articles are said to be written, or at any rate inspired, by him; I therefore attach some importance to the information which it imparts to the public, and to the observations of the editor in the leading articles.

The "Réveil" announces the expected arrival of a French squadron, and that a deputation composed of the Chiefs of several tribes have arrived to congratulate M. Ordega on his return, and to solicit his protection, and further that the Moorish population in general, dissatisfied with the administration of the Sultan's Governors, are rallying around the Shereef of Wazan, "et il se produit dans tout le Maroc un mouvement qui pourrait amener une situation inattendue."

Her Majesty's Government have no doubt good grounds for confiding in the assurances given by the French Government of their desire to maintain friendly relations with the Government of Morocco, and, indeed, it may be that M. Ferry is perfectly sincere; but it is evident, on the other hand, from the conduct of the Shereef of Wazan and his sons that M. Ordega has been actively engaged in seeking to produce such a state of affairs as may ultimately bring about a rebellion and the downfall of the Sultan, and that the French Government will then be compelled to reverse their pacific policy and to march an army across the frontier to put down the state of anarchy which will ensue. Then the conquest of Morocco will necessarily follow.

The return of M. Ordega in an iron-clad, the demand that the French flag be saluted before he landed, notwithstanding the declaration that there had been no rupture of relations, but that, on the contrary, they were very cordial, the permanence of the iron-clad in this bay, and the expected arrival of a French squadron, lead to the belief that the French Government approve of the acts of M. Ordega, and are prepared to continue to resort to a policy of intimidation in supporting the demands which, it is to be expected, may shortly be put forward for the rectification of the Algerian frontier and consequent annexation of large tracts of country hitherto acknowledged to form part of the Sultan's dominions.

I have not been able to discover who are the Chiefs of tribes reported in the "Réveil" to have arrived at Tangier, they may, however, be residing incognito at the dwelling of the Shereef Hadj Abdesselam, and be represented as some of his numerous protected dependents. I think it is very probable that, through the intrigues, or at the instigation of the Shereef, such a deputation have presented, or will present, themselves to M. Ordega. It is even whispered by persons connected with the French Legation that M. Ordega has asked by telegraph for instructions from Paris what course he is to pursue in this "situation inattendue." If this be true, all will depend upon the nature of the secret instructions M. Ordega may receive.

I have received no later communication from the Moorish Court than that I transmitted to your Lordship in my despatch No. 55 of the 28th ultimo, but I am told that the Sultan is very despondent on account of his not having received any reply to the appeals he made to the British and other Governments regarding the irregular protection afforded by M. Ordega to the Shereef of Wazan, his sons, and host of dependents. His Shereefian Majesty will probably have to yield to any demands M. Ordega may now put forward, and, finding himself abandoned to his fate, His Majesty may possibly accept, or even seek for, a French Protectorate.

A leading article in the "Times" of the 14th ultimo states that Great Britain has no "commanding interest" in Morocco. The writer approves of the proceedings of M. Ordega in protecting the Shereef of Wazan, and concludes the article by stating that he considers the action of France in Morocco will be for the benefit of civilization.

This article was published in the local Tangier journals, and translations were, as I understand, transmitted to the Court. The Sultan and his Ministers, and those Moors who take an interest in politics, have been led to suppose that the "Times" expresses on this occasion the views of Her Majesty's Government and the feelings of the British public, and they conclude, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government will even encourage the French Government, if it entertains ambitious projects regarding the annexation of Morocco, to carry them into execution.

The editor of the "Réveil" remarks:—

"Le 'Times,' qui passe pour réfléter la pensée du Gouvernement Anglais, déclare résolument que l'action de la France au Maroc tend à l'avantage de la civilisation, de la liberté, et de la justice, et reconnaît que la conduite du Ministre de France n'a jamais cessé d'être correcte. Ces déclarations de la part de l'organe de la City en faveur d'une politique diamétralement opposée à celle suivie par le Gouvernement Anglais est un aveu tacite des erreurs de la Grande-Bretagne."

These remarks are no doubt written or inspired by M. Ordega, and are published throughout Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 145.

Extract from "Le Réveil du Maroc" of June 4, 1884.

LA présence du cuirassé Français "Le Redoutable," et l'annonce de la prochaine arrivée de l'escadre de la Méditerranée, produisent ici le meilleur effet. On commente beaucoup les démonstrations de sympathie dont M. Ordega est l'objet depuis sa rentrée, de la part de la population Arabe, démonstrations dont la signification politique semble d'autant plus importante, que le Ministre de France aurait reçu plusieurs députations composées des Chefs de plusieurs tribus de l'intérieur, qui l'ont complimenté et sollicité sa protection. Nous ne sommes pas à même de nous prononcer dès à présent d'une manière définitive sur la véritable portée de ces faits; on peut néanmoins affirmer que les sympathies des Musulmans pour la France s'accentuent de plus en plus; les populations, mécontentes de l'administration de leurs Gouverneurs, se rallient autour du Chérif d'Ouazan, et il se produit dans tout le Maroc un mouvement qui pourrait amener une situation inattendue.

No. 146.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14.)

(No. 58.)
Tangier, June 8, 1884.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 26 of the 31st ultimo, transmitting copy of a despatch addressed to your Lordship by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, reporting a conversation with M. Ferry, in which the latter denied that any such statements as those published in the "Gaulois" had been made to him by M. Ordega.

Though I, as well as several of my colleagues at Tangier, am perfectly convinced that the editor of the "Gaulois" derived his information, either directly or indirectly from M. Ordega, for his language and style are recognized, the denial by M. Ferry that such language had ever been held to him is, of course, to be accepted, but I trust that, as Lord Lyons has observed to M. Ferry, a contradiction of the statement will be made by his Excellency with the same publicity as that with which the calumnies had been put forward.*

I am especially desirous that such a satisfaction should be afforded me, as I have read an article in the "Journal des Débats" of the 26th May, signed Gabriel Charmes, published shortly after the visit of M. Ordega to Paris, in which I again recognize his malignant language regarding myself.†

This article contains mendacious statements and aspersions on my character, and as the "Journal des Débats" is a serious paper which has a wide circulation, not only in France, but in England and the rest of Europe, I think it my duty to submit to your Lordship some observations on the statements it contains. I inclose the "Réveil du Maroc" of the 4th instant, reproducing the article in question.

M. Charmes states that "Sir J. Hay, à force de vivre au milieu des Marocains, dont il s'est assimilé toutes les manières de penser, de parler, et d'agir, a fini par regarder la cause de sa famille, et de sa clientèle, comme celle de l'Angleterre elle-même."

* The Italian Minister, M. Scovasso, has received from his Government an assurance that a "dément formel" will be published by the French Government.—J. H. D. H.

† M. Ordega, having been connected with the press, is no doubt well acquainted with M. Charmes and the Editor of the "Gaulois," &c.—J. H. D. H.

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No member of my family, nor even relative, resides in Morocco. My son-in-law, Mr. Brooks, visits Tangier in the winter to hunt, but he has an independent fortune, is not in business, and is in no way connected with any mercantile or agricultural speculations in Morocco.

As to my "clientèle," I conclude M. Charmes refers to the native Interpreters, or Arabic Secretaries; they are all poor men depending for their livelihood upon their salaries, and not like the native Interpreter of the French Legation who, though he had no fortune twenty years ago, is now very wealthy.

M. Charmes says that my "seule préoccupation est de fermer le Maroc aux Européens, et de n'y laisser pénétrer qu'un petit nombre de ses compatriotes, qui s'empareraient peu à peu de toutes les ressources du pays."

This statement is entirely false. I have never opposed the advent of my countrymen nor discouraged British enterprise; but I admit that I have refused to support the pretensions of such British subjects as have put forward requests that I should grant protection to Moorish subjects, who may be disposed to present them with a portion of their lands and cattle, with the view of enabling the givers to avoid taxation, military service, &c., and that Her Majesty's Legation should undertake to recover the claims these Moors may present.

Such malpractices, it is alleged, exist at some of the foreign Missions and Consulates, and British subjects have based their pretensions upon the right of being placed upon the same footing as the subjects of other countries. Like requests I have refused to entertain as being repugnant to my feelings.

The "Débats" declares that from my long residence in this country I have become Moorish in my feelings and acts, and it is repeatedly asserted in the organs made use of by M. Ordega to malign me that I am opposed to the introduction of reforms or improvements in Morocco.

Her Majesty's Government have innumerable proofs in the archives of the Foreign Office how I have unceasingly laboured to introduce reforms and improvements, and to remove restrictions upon trade, and how I have even attempted to induce the late and present Sultan to alter the deplorable system of government which exists, and is the chief cause of the degraded state of this unfortunate country. My efforts have not been seconded by British squadrons, nor backed by a policy of intimidation, which, unfortunately, appears to be the sole persuasive argument in dealing with Mohammedan rulers, and therefore I have not had that success which I could have desired, but it is a satisfaction for me to know that all the concessions which have been obtained for commerce during the last forty years, such as the abolition of monoplies and of favouritism, the removal of the prohibition on the exportation of grain, wool, &c., the reduction of import duties from 30 and 40 to 10 per cent., the slight improvements at some of the ports, the building of bridges, &c., near Tangier, were obtained solely by me, whilst I know not of one single concession to commerce in general obtained by the French Representatives.

The statement made in the "Réveil," that French commerce has increased "de près du cent pour cent" since M. Ordega's arrival, is not borne out by statistics, though the subventions granted to the Steam-Ship Companies, who have of late established extra lines between France, Algeria, and Morocco, have given greater activity to their trade, and an increase in the tonnage of French vessels touching at Moorish ports. British trade still maintains its supremacy, exceeding 50 per cent. that of all other nations combined.

Your Lordship will, I trust, pardon my encroaching on your Lordship's valuable time with such a long despatch upon a subject which affects me personally rather than being a matter of public interest, but when a serious paper like the "Débats" publishes such defamatory statements, I have taken it to heart, and could not allow them to pass unnoticed. During the forty-four years I have served Her Majesty's Government my conduct has been invariably approved, and for the short period which remains for me to serve, I hope to continue to enjoy their confidence and approval.

In conclusion I beg to add that it would be a great satisfaction to me if your Lordship were pleased to authorize Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris to take an opportunity of removing any erroneous impressions which may possibly have been left on the mind of M. Ferry by M. Ordega or the articles in the French papers regarding my conduct and character; and of informing his Excellency that far from being an opponent of French policy in Morocco, so long as it is not of an aggressive character, I have unceasingly counselled this Government to meet the demands and wishes of the French Government, and to avoid giving just grounds for dissension. My former colleague, the late French Ambassador in London, M. Tissot, with whom I was on the most intimate

terms, would, I am persuaded, confirm to M. Ferry all I have stated regarding the friendly feelings I entertained towards the French Government and nation.

It will also be a source of satisfaction to me to learn that at such a moment M. Ferry has been told that my conduct continues to meet with your Lordship's approval.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 147.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 14.)

(No. 346.)
My Lord, *Paris, June* 13, 1884.

IN his despatch No. 57 of the 7th instant, which I forward to your Lordship to-day, Sir John Drummond Hay incloses a paragraph from the "Réveil du Maroc" of the 4th instant, relative to the return of M. Ordega on board a French iron-clad, the "Redoutable," to the announcement of an early visit to Tangier of the French Mediterranean squadron, to the alleged arrival there of deputations from several tribes to solicit M. Ordega's protection, and to the supposed rallying of the Moorish population round the Shereef of Wazan.

This same paragraph in the "Réveil du Maroc" forms the subject of an article by M. Gabriel Charmes which has appeared in the "Journal des Débats" this morning, and which I send herewith to your Lordship for what it may be worth.

The article gives its own explanation of the return of M. Ordega on board an iron-clad, of the forts having saluted the iron-clad, contrary to custom, before she saluted them, and of the approaching visit of the French squadron.

Then, after expressing general sympathy with the "Réveil du Maroc," it recites the paragraph which Sir J. Drummond Hay has inclosed to your Lordship, and goes on as follows :—

"Nous ne saurions trop protester contre l'esprit qui a dicté cette note. Il est certainement contraire au sentiment personnel de M. Ordega, et il est en opposition flagrante avec la pensée dont s'inspire la politique Française au Maroc. . . . La France tient pardessus tout à ce qu'une révolution ne vienne pas troubler les progrès de sa politique pacifique et civilisatrice dans ces contrées voisines de sa grande Colonie Africaine. . . . Nous sommes certains que notre Ministre à Tanger profitera de la grande influence qu'il s'est acquis dans le pays pour comprimer autant que possible de dangereux ferments d'insurrection. . . . La France ne sera jamais au Maroc l'alliée de la révolte contre le Sultan."

Sir J. Drummond Hay's despatch No. 58 of the 8th instant (which also I have the honour to forward to your Lordship to-day) relates principally to a previous article by the same writer, published in the "Journal des Débats" of the 26th ultimo. This article was sent by me to your Lordship in my despatch No. 303 on the day on which it appeared.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 147.

Extract from the "Journal des Débats" of June 13, 1884.

CERTAINS journaux étrangers s'obstinent à déclarer qu'il y a une question du Maroc, et que la France se prépare à provoquer dans ce pays de graves événements qui y rendraient son intervention nécessaire. Nous ne saurions trop protester contre de pareilles nouvelles. Nous avons exposé quelle était réellement la politique Française au Maroc, politique de paix, de droit commun, et de civilisation, nullement hostile à l'autorité du Sultan, que nous avons plus d'intérêt que personne à ne pas ébranler. On a grand tort de voir dans les circonstances qui ont accompagné le retour de M. Ordega à Tanger des essais d'intimidation contre un Souverain dont nous ne recherchons que l'alliance et l'amitié; si notre Ministre est arrivé au Maroc sur un des plus beaux cuirassés de notre escadre, le "Redoutable," c'est en vertu d'une coutume très répandue en Orient où les Agents Consulaires et Diplomatiques se rendent presque toujours à leurs postes sur des vaisseaux de

guerre. Jusqu'ici M. Ordega n'avait pas suivi cette coutume, ce qui avait permis à ses adversaires de persuader aux Marocains que la flotte Française était anéantie, et qu'ils pouvaient tout oser contre un pays désormais sans forces sur les mers. L'apparition du "Redoutable" à Tanger a dissipé ces mensonges; mais il n'y a là ni une provocation ni simplement une menace. Les forts Marocains ont salué les premiers le navire qui portait M. Ordega, fait tout à fait exceptionnel, qui prouve, de la part des autorités locales, une bonne volonté à l'égard de la France que nous devons certainement accueillir avec bienveillance.

Quant à la prochaine arrivée de notre escadre à Tanger, ce n'est point, comme on cherche à le faire croire, une manifestation combinée d'avance pour produire au Maroc un grand effet politique. Il y a plusieurs mois que, dans le voyage d'été que doit accomplir notre escadre sur les côtes de l'Océan, il a été décidé qu'elle passerait par Tanger en quittant la Méditerranée. Si elle avait modifié son itinéraire, cet acte de faiblesse aurait été interprété par nos adversaires comme une reculade; on aurait dit à Tanger et à Fez que nous n'osions pas faire défiler notre escadre le long de ces côtes du Maroc où l'escadre Italienne a fait récemment des démonstrations éclatantes et où l'on voit sans cesse passer des vaisseaux de guerre Anglais. Voilà pourquoi rien n'a été changé à des plans arrêtés depuis longtemps. Mais notre escadre ne se présentera pas à Tanger pour y faire de l'intimidation; elle s'y présentera comme elle se présente partout, pour montrer que la France est toujours forte bien qu'elle soit absolument résolue à ne pas faire usage de sa force contre des voisins avec lesquels elle tient à vivre en bonne amitié.

Il est très essentiel qu'on connaisse la vérité, soit en Europe, soit au Maroc, sur des incidents dénaturés à dessein dans une partie de la presse Européenne et même Marocaine. Nous lisons dans une petite feuille publiée à Tanger, et qui nous inspire d'ailleurs beaucoup de sympathie, le "Réveil du Maroc," des articles qui pourraient égarer l'opinion publique. Le "Réveil du Maroc" est un journal plein de bonnes intentions; mais emporté par l'ardeur des luttes locales qui est si vive dans les pays Mussulmans, il écrit, par exemple, ceci :—

"La présence du cuirassé Français le "Redoutable," et l'annonce de la prochaine arrivée de l'escadre de la Méditerranée produisent ici le meilleur effet. On commente beaucoup les démonstrations de sympathie dont M. Ordega est l'objet depuis sa rentrée de la part de la population Arabe, démonstrations dont la signification politique semble d'autant plus importante, que le Ministre de France aurait reçu plusieurs députations composées des Chefs de plusieurs tribus de l'intérieur, qui l'ont complimenté et sollicité sa protection. Nous ne sommes pas à même de nous prononcer dès à présent, d'une manière définitive, sur la véritable portée de ces faits; on peut néanmoins affirmer que les sympathies des Musulmans pour la France s'accentuent de plus en plus; les populations, mécontentes de l'administration de leurs Gouverneurs, se rallient autour du Chérif d'Ouazan, et il se produit dans tout le Maroc un mouvement qui pourrait amener une situation imprévue."

Nous ne saurions trop protester contre l'esprit qui a dicté cette note. Il est certainement contraire au sentiment personnel de M. Ordega, et il est en opposition flagrante avec la pensée dont s'inspire la politique Française au Maroc. Nous sommes convaincu que notre Ministre a su faire comprendre, aux Chefs de tribus qui venaient lui demander sa protection, qu'il nous était impossible de les arracher au Gouvernement et à l'Administration de leur Souverain légitime, et que, si nous avions accordé notre Protectorat au Chérif d'Ouazan, ce n'était point pour en faire un chef de parti contre le Sultan, avec lequel nous tenons à conserver de bonnes relations, mais seulement pour reconnaître les services qu'il nous a rendus et qu'il nous rendra encore en Algérie et en Tunisie. Nous n'attachons, d'ailleurs, que bien peu d'importance à ces manifestations de Chefs de tribus dont parle le "Réveil du Maroc." Dans tous les pays Musulmans, où les populations sont écrasées sous un joug odieux, dès qu'une autorité étrangère quelconque paraît s'élever à côté de l'autorité indigène, tout le monde se tourne vers elle avec l'espoir d'échapper aux vexations sans nombre de cette dernière. Mais ces mouvements, qu'on prend pour des mouvements d'opinion publique, ne sont que des mouvements d'intérêts individuels qui disparaissent dès qu'une crise décisive se produit. Le jour où une révolution éclaterait au Maroc, el fanatisme s'y réveillerait immédiatement, et tous les Chrétiens, sans distinction, se trouveraient exposés à ses violences.

Voilà pourquoi la France tient par-dessus tout à ce qu'une révolution ne vienne pas troubler les progrès de sa politique pacifique et civilisatrice dans ces contrées voisines de sa grande Colonie Africaine. Nous lisons encore dans le "Réveil du Maroc :"—"Depuis quelque temps, on nous signale une grande effervescence parmi les tribus de l'intérieur, qui seraient prêtes à secouer le joug du Gouvernement actuel. Les extorsions et les actes arbitraires des fonctionnaires Musulmans en sont arrivés à tel point, que plusieurs provinces

se sont coalisées, soit en vue d'opposer une résistance passive, soit pour se mettre à l'abri de ses vexations sous un drapeau étranger. Étant donnée cette disposition d'esprit, il ne serait pas impossible que nous fussions à la veille d'un mouvement populaire au Maroc." Si ces renseignements sont exacts, ce dont nous doutons beaucoup pour notre compte, nous sommes certain que notre Ministre à Tanger profitera de la grande influence qu'il s'est acquise dans le pays pour comprimer autant que possible d'aussi dangereux ferments d'insurrection. Il saura tenir aux Chefs de tribus qui viennent le consulter un langage ferme et clair. La France ne sera jamais au Maroc l'alliée de la révolte contre le Sultan. Ceux qui compteraient sur elle pour les aider à préparer une révolution commettraient la plus grande des erreurs, et, comme ils seront avertis d'avance, ils ne pourraient se plaindre à personne s'ils en étaient les victimes.

(Signé) GABRIEL CHARMES.

No. 148.

Question asked in the House of Commons, June 16, 1884.

Baron Henry de Worms,—To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of the danger to British interests which would be caused by France obtaining a similar position at Tangier to that which she occupies at Tunis, he will now state what instructions, if any, have been forwarded to Her Majesty's Representative at Tangier as to the recent action of the French Government with regard to the Shereef of Wazan;

And whether the papers on the subject will be laid upon the table of the House.

Answer.

I beg to refer the honourable Member to the reply which I gave to the honourable Member for Glasgow on Friday last, when I stated that the assurances received from the French Government, that they have no designs upon Morocco, and repudiate all idea of establishing a Protectorate or of promoting troubles in the country, have been communicated to Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, and through him to the Moorish Government. Her Majesty's Government do not consider it advisable to present any papers at present.

No. 149.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 19.)

(No. 60. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tangier, June* 12, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 28 of the 4th instant, transmitting copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, in which his Excellency states that M. Ferry had assured him that France had no desire to change the *status quo*, and that his instructions to M. Ordega were to pursue a strictly conservative policy.

The information which has reached me from the interior, and even from England, satisfies me that either M. Ordega disregards the instructions he receives, for he has taken active steps, in concert with the Shereef of Wazan, for bringing about a rebellion throughout the country which will end in the downfall of the Sultan and the occupation by France of Morocco; or M. Ferry gives these assurances with the view of tranquillizing Her Majesty's Government and public opinion in England and Europe, so as to enable him at a propitious moment to carry into execution, without hindrance, the ambitious designs which France has in view. It may be in a few months, or in a year or two; but, step by step, sap and mine are at work, and their end will be attained. The frontier question will suffice to bring about a rupture of relations, for I do not expect the Sultan will cede the large tract of territory which it is supposed the French Government will demand; and I may add that I do not think His Shereefian Majesty dare make such a concession.

I transmit copy of a private letter addressed to me by Her Majesty's Consul at

Mogador, reporting that an insurrection has taken place in Soos against the Sultan's authority, fomented by the Shereef of Wanza.

Information has reached me of emissaries having been sent by the Shereef of Wazan, or his sons, to the tribes dwelling in the districts adjoining the Algerian frontier, and also to the southern provinces.

A friend of mine writes from London that Mrs. Keene, the mother of the English wife of the Shereef of Wazan, had mentioned to her in a mysterious manner that her daughter had informed her that ere long startling events would occur in Morocco, which would surprise the British public.

It would be a great satisfaction for me to learn, at the present critical moment, what may be the views of Her Majesty's Government, and whether I am to continue to pursue the same line of conduct as I have hitherto done; and, further, what advice I should give the Sultan, if asked, when the question of the cession of territory for the rectification of frontier is put forward.

The statement that Spain has come to an arrangement with France regarding affairs in Morocco is very ominous.*

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 149.

Consul Payton to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Private.)

Dear Sir, *Mogador, June* 7, 1884.

I HEAR from a private source that there is widespread insurrection in Soos against the Kaïds appointed by the Sultan after his campaign there in 1882, three of whom are said to have been killed. The revolt is reported to have reached G'sheema, near Agadir.

My informant said that this revolt has been fomented by a brother† of the Shereef of Wazan, who has lately come up from the south, and has taken a passage, I hear, with another Moor, per "Verité" for Tangier (through the French Consulate).

I hear that he went down south two months ago, and went to Cid Hosein-bel-Hashem.

I cannot at present vouch for the truth of this report, but I knew it would interest you, and will endeavour to obtain accurate information.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. PAYTON.

No. 150.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 21.)

(No. 62.)

My Lord, *Tangier, June* 13, 1884.

A COURIER arrived from the Moorish Court yesterday evening, and it is reported that M. Ordega received satisfactory replies to the communications he had addressed the Sultan on his return to Tangier.

The French squadron left this afternoon, steaming west.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 151.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 31.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 21, 1884.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copy of a note which has been addressed to his Excellency Lord Lyons by M. Jules Ferry, in answer to the remonstrances made by my desire against the calumnious statements respecting yourself which appeared in the

* See No. 125. † Shereef has no brother; it must be some other member of his family.

"Gaulois" newspaper, and which were attributed to M. Ordega,* and I have to inquire whether you are satisfied with this official disclaimer on the part of M. Ordega.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 152.

Sir J. S. Lumley to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 23.)

(No. 98.)
My Lord, *Rome, June* 16, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a report of the discussion which took place in the Chamber of Deputies on the 11th instant on the subject of the relations between France and Morocco. The question was brought forward by the Marquis de Camporealé (son of Madame Minghetti) in a maiden speech, in which he referred to the simultaneous presence at Paris of the Shereefian Prime Minister and the French Minister accredited to the Emperor of Morocco, to the reception given to that Minister on his return to his post by the native tribes, and to the official protection given by him to the Shereef of Wazan, a competitor for the Throne of Morocco. It was impossible, he said, to attribute much value to the assurances said to be given by France to Spain, that nothing would be undertaken in Morocco without the participation of Spain, since nothing was known of the negotiations on the subject between those two Powers, and experience had shown that little value should be attached to certain promises. It was, however, important to know how Italy stood with regard to this question, and whether her position in Europe enabled her to count on the maintenance of her rights and legitimate influence in Africa, and he hoped the Foreign Minister would be able to return a satisfactory answer stating that Italy could not remain indifferent to any change that might take place on the neighbouring coast of Africa. M. Mancini, while describing as exaggerated the statement, that recent events had excited in European public opinion alarm at the possibility of changes in the Empire of Morocco, stated that the Government, as in duty bound, had occupied itself with the matter. As regards the commercial relations of foreign countries with Morocco, England came first, then France, Spain occupied the third place, and Italy the fourth at a long distance. As regards political relations Spain was the first, England came next, and then France, who in 1845 concluded a Treaty with Morocco, which left in uncertainty the question of sovereignty over a zone of territory belonging neither to France nor to Morocco, and which was continually subject to the incursions of rebels; it was the rectification of this frontier that France demanded.

Although the interests of Italy are not of the same importance as those of the countries referred to, the contiguity of Morocco to the Mediterranean renders it most desirable that no change should take place which might alter the existing balance of power between the nations holding possessions on the Mediterranean. Still more would the interests of Italy be menaced by the formation of a vast African Empire in her immediate vicinity. The *status quo* is likewise desirable for the free navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar, a subject of interest for England. Should the territorial and political conditions of Morocco be modified, Italy might be compelled to protect her interests by augmenting her means of defence. (It is to be remarked that this last sentence, which has been much commented upon by the foreign press, does not appear in the Parliamentary Report of the official Gazette.) Referring to the two questions in dispute between France and Morocco, M. Mancini said the first, concerning the protection afforded by France to the Shereef of Wazan, seemingly in opposition to the Treaty of Madrid of 1880, appears to have been settled to the satisfaction of France by the removal of the Governor of Wazan.

For the settlement of the second question two propositions have been put forward, one, which would have been tantamount to the dismemberment of the Empire of Morocco; the other, giving to France the zone of disputed territory on the frontier in the interior; but it remains to be seen whether the agreement to be come to between France and Morocco will suffice to put an end to future disputes, or whether it will be a source of incessant conflicts. The categorical declarations given by France, not only to Italy, but to England and Spain, are reassuring. To suppose that these declarations have been made merely to lull the vigilance of Italy would be an insult to the noble French nation; nevertheless the facts of an analogous enterprise necessitate watchfulness. The French Government will be informed, in the most friendly way, of the intentions

* Inclosure in No. 143.

of Italy, and they will be requested to moderate the zeal of their Representative at Tangier. M. Mancini added that, though obliged to respect the international custom, which precluded reference to secret negotiations, the Chambers might be convinced that the Government would neglect nothing to prevent any change occurring in Morocco which might prove dangerous to Italy.

The Marquis of Camporealé said that he was not satisfied with M. Mancini's explanations, which, far from being reassuring, only confirmed the gravity of the situation in Morocco. And although the Minister expressed his conviction that France would restrict herself to a rectification of the frontier, after what had occurred at Tunis it was to be hoped there would be no disillusion in Morocco. While taking note of the Minister's declarations, he should therefore reserve to himself to return to the subject, should an aggravation of the actual position give reason to fear that Italian interests were in danger. M. Mancini replied that he thought he had clearly explained that, of the two questions relating to Morocco, one was settled, while the other concerned a simple rectification of the frontier; he could not bring himself to doubt the explicit declarations he had received from Paris, declarations which had been made likewise to other European Cabinets. The Government, he repeated, would guard against all surprise, and its action would not be less energetic than that of other Powers whose interests in Morocco are more important than those of Italy. This last sentence is likewise omitted in the report of the debate in the official Gazette.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. SAVILE LUMLEY.

No. 153.

Sir J. S. Lumley to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 23.)

(No. 99.)
My Lord, *Rome, June* 17, 1884.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch, I have the honour to inclose copy of an article from "L'Italie," which is considered to be the French organ at Rome, on the subject of Italian policy in Morocco. It would seem, the writer says, as if there was a determination to create an agitation about what is going on in Morocco, though Italian interests there are most limited, there being only fourteen Italian residents in that country, and the Italian commercial movement being utterly insignificant. It is said that, if France were to annex Morocco, she would create an African Empire, which would endanger the balance of power in the Mediterranean; but if France were foolish enough to extend her African possessions westward it would augment her difficulties, and not her power. She would have to employ an army of at least 30,000 men, and spend 50,000,000 fr. a-year. After fifty-four years of occupation the subjection of Algeria is so little completed, that a dangerous revolt broke out there three years ago, and it is the interest of France not to extend her territory, which is already too vast, in that quarter; if any Power is interested in maintaining the independence of Morocco, it is England rather than Spain or Italy. Spain looks upon Morocco as an eventual possession, which will fall to her share when she can occupy it, and has money to spare for that purpose; but Spain is so little in a hurry to do so, that she has not yet occupied places to which she has a right by Treaty.

England, no doubt, has serious interests in Morocco.

By taking the initiative in opposing the imaginary projects of France, Italy would therefore be working for Spain and England and not for herself, and would run the risks, if there are any, attached to such a policy, without any possible advantage, the west of Africa being entirely beyond her sphere of action. But this would not be her principal fault; if M. Camporealé and his friends succeed in establishing the belief that an irrevocable antagonism exists between Italy and France, they will have created a situation of the utmost danger; they reckon on the isolation of France, but this may cease, since it is evident that the actual state of affairs in Europe may be modified in many ways: this is the opinion of the majority of the Italian nation, and, to judge from his speech, it is certainly that of M. Mancini. Nor is it surprising that M. Minghetti should disavow the opinion of the young Deputy, who, from family connection, might have been looked upon as his organ, for M. Minghetti doubtless hopes to become Minister, and would not wish to engage in a line of policy the danger of which he has probably divined. I find the general opinion in Rome to be that a change in the political and territorial condition of Morocco, through French influence, would be fatal

to the present Italian Government, in the same way that the fall of the Caroli Administration was brought about, by the unexpected change in the relations of Tunis.

M. Mancini's speech, however, should anything of the kind occur, would serve to show that the Italian Government has not been taken by surprise, and did what it could to prevent it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. SAVILE LUMLEY.

No. 154.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 23.)

(No. 63.)
My Lord, *Tangier, June* 16, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the local paper "Al-moghreb Al-aksa," of the 15th instant, which contains a leading article sketching the aims France has in view, which is deserving of attention.

As I have such slender assistance in my chancery, I am unable to transmit a translation of this article.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 154.

Précis of an Article in the "Al-moghreb Al-aksa" of June 15, 1884.

THE aim pursued by France in Morocco is that which for years has guided her policy in North Africa, namely, the establishment of a closer connection between her two great African Colonies of Algeria and Senegal, and securing the possibility of a railroad across the Sahara, which should give her the monopoly of the commerce which proceeds by way of Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt, from the Soudan, the territory of Bambara, and the desert.

With this end in view, she intrigues constantly with the different tribes of Morocco, appealing to their religious sentiments, and offering them the advantages of rapid communication by canal and railway, at the same time that she extends her line of railway in Senegal towards the interior—which she can do without exciting either opposition or remark.

In Morocco she is hampered by other European interests. But she is able to distract the attention of England by a skilful use of the latter's Egyptian difficulties; and to quiet Germany by holding out to her the promise of a naval station on the north or south of the Empire of Morocco. To Spain she offers an extension of her possessions on the Riff, expecting, in return, that she may be allowed to push forward the frontier of Algeria, and extend the Algerian line as far as Fez and Mequinez, by which route it would be carried to Timbuctoo and Senegal, thus avoiding the difficulties offered by the desert, by following the valley of the River Drâa.

With a view to forcing the Sultan to make these concessions she is constantly taking Moorish subjects under her protection.

What is the Sultan to do in view of this menacing attitude of France? He knows the wide-spread discontent among his subjects—the effect of the iniquities of the present Government—and the readiness with which they would join any cause hostile to him; and he is conscious that if a Potentate, like the Shereef of Wazan, invested with the protection of France, as well as the sanctity of his own person, declares against him, the institutions and even the reigning dynasty of Morocco run the gravest risk.

In view of this the Sultan has appealed (as stated in the "Standard") to the Signatory Powers of the Convention of Madrid, and on their answer depends the fate of the Empire of Morocco.

No. 155.

Mr. de Bunsen to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 25.)

(No. 71.)
My Lord, *Madrid, June* 22, 1884.

ON the 20th instant the Minister of State replied, in the Chamber of Deputies, to a request which had been made, on the previous day, by the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo, that the Government would publish a Red Book containing the diplomatic correspondence which had passed since the close of the last Cortes, or would, at least, submit to the Chamber documents relating to recent events in Morocco, thus enabling Deputies to discuss the policy of the Government in the course of the debate on the address.

Señor Elduayen said it was not the intention of the Government to publish a Red Book, inasmuch as such a publication could serve no useful purpose at the present time. His Excellency further declined to produce the papers in his possession having reference to Morocco, on the ground that they were all of a confidential character, and that Her Majesty's Government, as well as that of Italy, had already returned a negative answer to similar appeals. The Marquis de la Vega de Armijo might, however, rest assured that the Government had fully maintained the dignity and just rights of Spain in Morocco. The whole question would, doubtless, be brought before the Cortes during the debate on the Address, and the Government would then be able to show "that the important objects of Spanish policy in that country had hitherto never been more securely guarded than they now were, and that, so far, there was no ground for the slightest apprehension or suspicion that any one of those objects, so sacred to every Spaniard, was threatened or endangered."

The Marquis de la Vega de Armijo endeavoured in vain to elicit any information as to the policy which the Government had pursued. The Minister of State declared that he could only assure the Marquis that they had every reason to be fully satisfied with the explanations which had been made by France as regarded her intentions with reference to Morocco.

I venture to observe that Señor Elduayen has assumed, in his declarations before the Chamber of Deputies, a tone of confidence which is completely at variance with the language which his Excellency has held in conversation with me, as reported to your Lordship in my despatch No. 55, Confidential, of the 8th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

No. 156.

Earl Granville to Mr. de Bunsen.[*]

(No. 84.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 27, 1884.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, the accompanying copies of despatches which I have received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome relative to France and Morocco.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 157.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 28.)

(No. 66.)
My Lord, *Tangier, June* 20, 1884.

M. TAIRRA, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, informed me, in the course of conversation, that M. Ordega had observed to him that M. Diosdado, on his return to Tangier, would adopt a policy entirely different from that he had hitherto pursued, and that the action of the Spanish and French Legations would be identic in all matters.

I inquired of M. Tairra whether he had received instructions from his Government which confirmed this statement. He said he had not.

I observed that the local journal, the "Réveil du Maroc," the mouth-piece of

[*] Also to Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 32). † Nos. 152 and 153.

M. Ordega, in proclaiming the beneficial results which, it alleges, have been produced by the policy he has pursued, has never ceased to attack the conduct of the British Government and their Representative, which it declares has been obstructive and opposed to the introduction of reforms and improvements, and to assert that I have supported the Moorish Government in their system of misgovernment. These unfounded and malignant allegations, I added, have been echoed by the "Débats" and other journals, whereas it must be known to those who are disinterested observers of my conduct that I have never ceased to use my utmost efforts to introduce reforms and improvements into the country, and that the concessions which have been made to commerce have been obtained by me unaided by other Representatives.

I remarked that if the alleged altered policy which the Spanish Government intend to pursue is to unite with France in urging the Sultan to introduce reforms and improvements, or even to alter the present deplorable system of Government, they would only be commencing to do that which Her Majesty's Government have approved of my attempting to do during the last forty years, and therefore their policy would be identic with our own. If, on the other hand, their united action would have in view to obtain territorial aggrandizement, according to a preconcerted arrangement, it would be a policy which I could not support without special instructions to that effect from Her Majesty's Government. There the conversation dropped.

I take this opportunity of expressing a hope that, as the late proceedings of France in Morocco have attracted the attention of foreign Governments, and of the public in general, and as very erroneous impressions have no doubt been left on the minds of statesmen and others regarding the policy which, it has been declared so explicitly and so repeatedly in public journals, has been pursued by Her Majesty's Government, and by me as their Representative, in Morocco, some step be taken by a communication to the foreign Governments interested in these questions to remove this impression, and to give a distinct denial to the malevolent accusations, which have led the world to suppose that the alleged civilizing action of France has ever been combated by the British Representative with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government; and further, if your Lordship sees no objection, that, in justice to myself, publicity in some form be given to such a communication. As matters now stand, I am held up to foreign Governments and to the public, after my long and arduous services, as being the sole cause of the barbarism and degraded state of Morocco, while M. Ordega, who has put forth these calumnies, has received honours and promotion from his Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 158.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

(No. 67.)

My Lord, *Tangier, June 24, 1884.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 66 of the 12th instant, referring to the erroneous and unfavourable impressions which must be produced on the minds of those who may read the articles published in French journals regarding my action and conduct as British Representative in Morocco, I hope your Lordship will excuse my again having occasion to refer to this subject in consequence of a leading article which appeared in the "Times" of the 17th instant, and the concluding paragraph herewith inclosed, in which the writer declares that the "predominating" influence, which, it is alleged, I enjoy at the Sultan's Court, has not been exerted vigorously in the cause of civilization and humanity. This is an echo of the opinions expressed in the French press, and no doubt the charge that I have not done my duty as the Representative of Great Britain will be believed by my countrymen so long as it remains uncontradicted.

A perusal of the numerous notes I have addressed this Government during the last forty years, and the energetic and decided language I have held to the Sultan and his Ministers on the various occasions I have visited the Court, will, I trust, suffice to prove these allegations to be unfounded.

Take, for instance, the language I held to Sultan Mulai Hassan on my last visit to the Court in 1882;* and the notes I addressed, and the language I held, on previous visits to the late and present Sultan, and I beg to ask whether I could have used more energetic and decided language to arouse the Sultan and his Government from their

* See Inclosure in despatch No. 8, Commercial, of April 29, 1882.—J. H. D. H.

lethargy, without resorting to words of menace and intimidation. Her Majesty's Government have always approved of my conduct on such occasions, but I have never received instructions to resort to menace, or even to insist that my counsels be followed. I find that as far back as 1868 I made an effort to induce Sultan Mohammed to alter his system of government. Though little success attended my efforts, I have never gone "to sleep," as one of the correspondents of the "Times" expresses himself, and Her Majesty's Government have innumerable proofs of this. The blame, therefore, that this country remains in its present wretched state cannot be laid at my door. Her Majesty's Government have never thought it politic or advisable to support my action by a display of force, and to dictate their will to this weak Government under the cannon's mouth, the sole argument, I fear, which prevails with Mohammedan potentates of the present century.

Without wishing to indulge in self-praise, I beg to reiterate that the improvements and concessions to trade which have been obtained during the last thirty years were effected by me, and instead of aid I have not infrequently met with covert opposition from some of my colleagues in their jealous endeavours to mar my efforts.

It is alleged that I possess great influence at the Moorish Court and throughout the country. The fact of the Sultan and his Ministers not following the advice I have so frequently given, and which it cannot be said has been tendered in flattering or soothing language, show that whatever may have been the friendly sentiments entertained by the Sovereigns of Morocco or their Ministers towards me, I have not had the power to induce them to follow my counsels.

I admit that both the late and the present Sultan, and in general the Ministers and chief officers of the Sultan, profess esteem and friendship for me which I believe to be sincere. I also feel proud of having gained the good-will of the population, high and low, so that the British name is respected, and I may say beloved; but if this is so, I attribute solely that result to my having during a long course of years treated the Moors with justice and kindness, and having inculcated similar action on my subordinate officers, whilst I have never taken advantage of the power and authority which the Representative of a great Power possesses with a weak Government like that of Morocco, to trample on or disregard their rights.

I trust your Lordship will forgive my importunity in returning to this subject, which affects me personally, but as an old servant, who will soon retire from office, I am sure your Lordship will excuse the natural desire that I should not be held up to the world, and especially to my countrymen, as having failed in doing my duty. I therefore beg, if no form of denial can be made in Parliament to the allegations of the press, that Her Majesty's Government may publish, or may authorize me to place in print, the numerous notes I have addressed this Government upon the subject of the introduction of reforms and improvements, and the removal of restrictions on trade during the last forty years, avoiding, of course, the publication of notes or of despatches upon political subjects.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 158.

Extract from a Leading Article in the "Times" of June 17, 1884.

THERE is no necessary reason in the nature of things why even the present profundity of painful lethargy should remain unfathomed; at least, the predominance English diplomacy, by common consent, enjoys at the Court of the Sultan should be exerted a little more vigorously than hitherto on behalf of simple humanity. It may easily be that the authority the British Legation in Morocco is believed to possess may be retained on the terms that it shall not be used. The deliberate conclusion of Englishmen would be that they would prefer to have this put to the test. They would rather England occupied a less-favoured cushion in the councils of Morocco than that it should be credited with power to disperse the malarious vapours and a willingness to breathe them.

No. 159.

*Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.**

(No. 578.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, July* 1, 1884.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid relative to France and Morocco.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 160.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received July 3.)

(No. 69.)
My Lord, *Tangier, June* 26, 1884.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 67 of the 24th instant, in confirmation of what I have stated to your Lordship regarding the erroneous impression left on the minds of the public by the malevolent allegations made in journals that I have opposed all reforms and improvements and obstructed British enterprise and commerce in Morocco, I have the honour to transmit the "Réveil de Maroc" of the 25th instant, which publishes the translation of an article in the "St. James' Gazette" of the 10th instant, for I do not take in that paper.

Unless a formal denial to these false charges made against my conduct is given by Her Majesty's Government, the British public will naturally continue to give credence to statements which are repeated so frequently in journals both Liberal and Conservative; and I feel confident your Lordship will concur with me in thinking that a great personal injury is thereby done to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 161.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received July 4.)

(No. 68. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, June* 26, 1884.

A CONFIDENTIAL Memorandum was put into my hands by Cid Mohammed Ben Suleiman, one of the Sultan's secretaries, containing the following information:—

That on the return of M. Ordega he sent off an express courier with a letter for the Sultan, addressed under cover to the Chief French Instructor of Artillery at the Court, with directions to deliver it in person to the Sultan. His Majesty declined to receive a letter through such a channel, but requested that it should be delivered to the chief usher of the Court. This was done. The Sultan did not reply himself to the letter, but directed his Chief Chamberlain to do so.

The contents of the letter were that M. Ordega required that "the Shereef and his sons should remain under French protection, honoured and respected, and that French citizens should enjoy the rights and privileges to which they are entitled."

The reply of the Sultan was that the Shereef would be respected as his ancestors had been, but that no especial privileges could be granted besides those they had possessed; and that the farms and dependents of the Shereef within the territory of Morocco must be subject to the Sultan's authorities, as had always been the custom.

With regard to the rights and privileges to which French subjects are entitled, the Chamberlain replied by order of the Sultan that "it was clear they were acknowledged, and that any question or claim should be brought under the notice of the Moorish Minister at Tangier, and that they should be settled in a just manner."

The Memorandum states that these were the only subjects mentioned either in M. Ordega's letter or in the reply.

* Also to Sir J. S. Lumley (No. 153), Lord Ampthill (No. 192), Sir A. Paget (No. 109), Sir E. Thornton (No. 196), the Earl of Dufferin (No. 210), and Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 33).

† No. 155.

The Memorandum then mentions that neither Cid Mohammed Bargash nor M. Ordega have up to the present time brought forward any other matter for discussion, "neither for entering into a Treaty, nor regarding any alteration of frontier."

The Memorandum states that the visit of Cid Mohammed Bargash to Paris was an after-thought, and was brought about solely by his desire to obtain the advice of an oculist, and that on this account he had requested the Sultan's permission to go there, and that it had been granted.

The Secretary informed me that it was by the Sultan's orders a copy of this secret Memorandum was put into my hands, and then he added, it was drawn up in consequence of certain queries put to the Vizier by the Italian Minister, M. Scovasso, and that as the Memorandum had been sent to M. Scovasso, he supposed the Sultan desired also that I should be put in possession of the same information.

I take this opportunity of mentioning to your Lordship that both M. Ordega and the Shereef, since the return of the former, have modified their language and conduct. The French Chancelier called upon the Acting Moorish Minister, and informed him that the French Legation would not prevent or interfere with the right of the Basha of Tangier to exercise his jurisdiction over the tribes of Anjera, so long as no injustice was done to the dependents of the Shereef.

I am informed also that a tribe from the Mountain of Gebel Habeeb having come to Tangier bringing gifts, &c., to the Shereef of Wazan, instead of, as is usual, to the Basha of Tangier, their Governor, the Shereef, offered to transfer the gifts to the Basha. The latter, I am told, declined the offer, saying that he could not admit the Shereef's interference or mediation, as it was the duty of all loyal tribes to present themselves to him as the Representative of the Sultan.

The Shereef had sent up two Moorish dependents to the public prison. The Basha gave orders that they were not to be admitted, and that, if there were any charges against them, they should be brought before his Tribunal for trial, and then he alone would decide whether they were to be imprisoned or not.

For the moment, it would appear that affairs have taken a more favourable turn for the assertion of the Sultan's authority. How long M. Ordega will permit it to last remains to be seen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 162.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received July 7.)

(No. 70.)
My Lord, *Tangier, June* 30, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 31 of the 21st instant, transmitting copy of a note addressed by M. Jules Ferry to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, in answer to the remonstrance which his Excellency had made by your Lordship's direction against the calumnious statements respecting myself which appeared in the "Gaulois" of the 8th May, and your Lordship inquires whether I am satisfied with the official disclaimer made by M. Ordega in a telegram to the editor of the above-mentioned journal which has been transmitted through the Foreign Office at Paris, but which M. Ferry has not thought advisable to send for publication in the "Gaulois," as he considers it would revive an untoward polemic which he says is closed.

I will not conceal from your Lordship my surprise that M. Ferry, after allowing seven weeks to elapse since the publication of the calumnious statements, which the editor declared had been communicated to him by M. Ordega, should now propose to drop the matter without giving the promised publicity to the disclaimer of the latter.

Under these circumstances your Lordship will, I trust, understand that I cannot feel satisfied with a disclaimer which is known only to the members of the British and French Foreign Offices and of Her Majesty's Embassy at Paris.

The calumnies contained in the "Gaulois" have been circulated, through the journals of other foreign countries besides France, and I have received letters from friends, both in England and abroad, inquiring how it comes to pass that such grave accusations put forward against me have been passed unnoticed. One of my correspondents who resides abroad had commenced to take steps for prosecuting the editor of a journal for libel, on account of his having published the article of the "Gaulois," but I wrote to recommend that he should await the publication of the "démenti formel" promised by M. Ferry. It is no satisfaction to me that M. Ordega should have denied to

M. Ferry that he had communicated to the "Gaulois" language which every one here with whom he had conversed about this country recognized to be his, unless publicity is given to his disclaimer. M. Ferry considers M. Ordega's assurance to be satisfactory. I admit that he could not do otherwise, unless proofs had been forthcoming that M. Ordega had communicated indirectly with the editor of the "Gaulois," but I was anxious that those who have read the calumnious statements in that journal should also be enabled to read the disclaimer, even though it be made public after a lapse of two months.

M. Ferry has supported and approved such anomalous proceedings on the part of M. Ordega in this country that I am not surprised he should wish to avoid taking any step which might affect in the slightest degree the position of M. Ordega, by publishing a document which would naturally produce an unfavourable impression on the minds of those who had recognized his language in the "Gaulois." M. Ferry says, "Je ne doute pas que le Ministre de France au Maroc n'ai déjà exprimé à ses collègues à Tanger sa surprise et son regret pour des propos qu'on lui prêtent et ne leur ait donné toutes les explications désirables." I have not received any explanation from M. Ordega; in fact, from the day the unpleasant altercation took place between us, I have had no personal communication with him. He departed from Tangier without calling or even leaving a card on me. He treated in the same manner, contrary to etiquette, Her Majesty's Consul, who is acting as Chargé d' Affaires for Belgium, and he has not called or left cards since his return, either on him or on me. I hear that he paid a visit to the Portuguese Minister, M. Colaço, and offered explanations which were accepted.

I learn from the Italian Minister, M. Scovasso, that he had received a message through a mutual friend from M. Ordega to say that he was "innocent" as regards the publication of the calumnies in the "Gaulois," and that he regretted any unfavourable impression should have been produced thereby.

M. Scovasso replied that he could not accept as satisfactory any excuses, unless a formal disclaimer signed by him was in the first place inserted in the "Gaulois;" that he, M. Ordega, was required according to etiquette to pay him an official visit on his return to his post, that if he did so the visit would be returned, but that he declined to receive a visit of any other character until the disclaimer appeared. Then M. Ordega sent a further message to say he did not venture to call, as he heard M. Scovasso had declared that it had been his intention "de le souffleter," and even to kill him. M. Scovasso replied that this was not true, though he had certainly intended to have demanded satisfaction from M. Ordega "sur le terrain d'honneur," but that he had received orders from Rome not to do so.

I will not conceal from your Lordship that, setting aside the libel in the "Gaulois," I attribute, in great measure, the virulent attacks made upon me, both by foreign and English journals, to have been initiated and brought about by the action of M. Ordega.

Some months ago a series of articles were inserted in the "Réveil du Maroc," the mouthpiece of M. Ordega, wherein I was declared to be opposed to the introduction of reforms and improvements, &c., in this country. No instance was specified of this alleged obstructive policy, but I inferred that the accusations were made owing to M. Ordega's resentment on learning that I disapproved of the irregular protection he had afforded to the Shereef of Wazan, through whom he had announced civilization was to be introduced into this country, and that the Shereef was destined to become the Sovereign of Morocco.

Simultaneously with M. Ordega's visit to Paris, the French journals echoed these opinions, and of late the English papers, biassed, I suppose, by the opinions of the French press, and by communications they have received from English residents in this country, who consider themselves aggrieved in consequence of my not having supported irregular and improper demands, have also attacked me without the slightest justification. As a proof that M. Ordega is in some way connected with the writers of these articles, I learn, from a reliable source, that copies of the journals containing accusations against me are sent to him, and are then communicated to the editor of the "Réveil," who publishes them with unfavourable comments upon my conduct.

This state of things, produced by the action of a colleague, becomes intolerable so long as Her Majesty's Government may not give, in some public form, a distinct contradiction of the charges made against me.

Since M. Ferry has declined to communicate M. Ordega's disclaimer to the "Gaulois," and as your Lordship may have reasons for wishing to avoid further correspondence upon this subject with the French Government, I beg to inform your Lordship that I shall feel quite satisfied if an opportunity is taken in either House of Parliament, by your Lordship or other Minister of State, to declare that the attacks made upon my character in the French journals, and the accusations made against me

in the English and French press of having been opposed to the introduction of reforms and improvements, and of having obstructed the enterprise of British subjects, are baseless, that Her Majesty's Government have always had occasion to approve of my conduct, and that I continue to enjoy their confidence, or something to that effect. Such a public contradiction of the defamatory accusations which have been made against me would satisfy me, and I should take no further notice for the future of the utterances of local papers or of what may be published in foreign or English journals regarding my conduct.

M. Scovasso informed me that in a speech of M. Mancini on the 11th June in the Italian Parliament that Minister took an occasion of declaring that the accusations made against the character of the Italian and English Ministers were "contre la vérité."

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 163.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 34.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, July 7, 1884.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 57 of the 7th ultimo, I transmit herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch which has been received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris forwarding an extract from the "Journal des Débats" on the subject of the return of M. Ordega to Tangier, and the policy of France with regard to Morocco.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 164.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received July 21.)

(No. 73. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Tangier, July 14, 1884.

AN express courier arrived yesterday from the Moorish Court bringing me a confidential letter, in which I was requested to make known to the writer, for the information of the Sultan, whether I would agree to make arrangements to forward and to deliver into the hands of the President of the French Republic a letter which His Shereefian Majesty desired to address M. Grévy, and to obtain a reply from the latter to His Shereefian Majesty without allowing it to transpire that such a correspondence had taken place.

I replied that it would be contrary to diplomatic usage, and very irregular, for a Representative to undertake to forward the letter of a Sovereign to any foreign Government of which he is not the accredited agent, especially when, as in the present instance, there is a Minister of the French Republic resident at Tangier.

I observed that, if Cid Mohammed Bargash was still in Paris, the Sultan might transmit the letter through him to President Grévy.

I can form no conjecture what may be the subject of the Sultan's communication, but as it would appear that His Shereefian Majesty is especially anxious that his intention of addressing the President should not be known at the French Legation, I conclude that His Shereefian Majesty has received information regarding the proceedings of M. Ordega in connection with the Shereef of Wazan, which His Majesty desires to impart to the French Government.

I learn that the Sultan has signified his intention of increasing the army of Askar, or disciplined troops, to 30,000 men. A large order has been given to the Belgian house of Cockerill for rifles, and some field-guns have been ordered at the Krupp manufactory, and forty Moorish youths have been dispatched to Germany to learn gunnery.

Notwithstanding the peaceful assurances given by M. Ferry to foreign Governments that France has no projects of conquest in Morocco, the late proceedings and conduct of M. Ordega, and of his protégé, the Shereef of Wazan, appear to have had such an

* No. 147.

effect upon the Sultan's mind, that he puts no faith in the continuance of peace for any length of time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 165.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 36.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 21, 1884.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 60, Confidential, of the 12th ultimo, relative to the steps alleged to have been taken by the Shereef of Wazan in concert with M. Ordega to foment a rebellion against the Sultan of Morocco, which you state may bring about the downfall of the Sultan, and the occupation by France of the country.

With regard to the wish expressed by you to be furnished with the views of Her Majesty's Government as to the course of conduct you should pursue during the existing crisis in Moorish affairs, I have to inform you that the information received since the date of your despatch is of a more reassuring nature; and that I have only to instruct you for the present to continue to watch events, and to endeavour to obtain from His Majesty the Sultan, or from any other source, the earliest information of a reliable nature as to any action on the part of the French and Spanish Governments, or of the Shereef of Wazan, which might afford grounds for a diplomatic representation by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 166.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received July 24.)

(No. 74. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, July* 17, 1884.

M. DIOSDADO returned here in a Spanish vessel of war on the 14th instant.

In the course of conversation he informed me that he had been at Paris, and had an interview with M. Ferry, who repeated the assurances already given at Madrid that there was no desire on the part of the French Government to disturb the *status quo* of Morocco, and that even the question of the rectification of the frontier would not be put forward. M. Ferry said that stringent instructions had been given to M. Ordega not to encourage or support the Shereef of Wazan in any attempt to foment insurrection or to resist the authority of the Sultan; that the protection afforded to the Shereef was solely on account of the services he had rendered, and might render, to France in Algeria.

M. Diosdado observed to M. Ferry that, if it was considered the Shereef, from his spiritual authority, could make himself useful to the French Government in Algeria, it would be preferable if his residence could be transferred to that Colony, as his presence n this country and his intrigues might some day lead to a disturbance of the *status quo*, which he, M. Ferry, desired to preserve; that the Shereef's services to the Sultan, as mediator with turbulent tribes, were no longer available, as, being under French protection, His Shereefian Majesty could not command him, as heretofore, without the previous consent of the French Representative. M. Ferry did not, it would appear, reply to this remark.

M. Ferry expressed to M. Diosdado his anxious desire that cordial relations should exist between him and M. Ordega, who, he observed, had always spoken highly of him. M. Diosdado replied that, being assured the French Government had no ambitious projects of conquest in Morocco, but desired to maintain the *status quo*, their policy being thus identic with that of Spain, he would be happy to act on all occasions in concert with the French Minister for upholding the authority and independence of the Sultan; that he had entertained with his colleagues of Great Britain and Italy, especially with the former, intimate and friendly relations, because they had always declared that the policy of their respective Governments was to maintain the *status quo*, and he should now have much pleasure to place himself on the same friendly footing with his colleague of France.

M. Diosdado observed to me that he had heard M. Ordega had lately altered the tone of his language and his proceedings with this Government, and that he hoped this state of things would last; but I inferred from the general tenour of his remarks that he apprehended that it would only last so long as it suits the purpose of France. He expressed a hope that I would continue to be as friendly and frank with him in my communications as I had hitherto been. I replied that the fact of his having agreed to act in concert with the French Minister with the view of upholding the independent authority of the Sultan was a source of satisfaction to me, and that he might depend upon my co-operation to attain this object; and I added that it would never enter into my head to alter my conduct or feelings towards him on account of his being on more friendly terms with M. Ordega.

I asked M. Diosdado to tell me confidentially what he thought of the article in the "Gaulois," containing the calumnies regarding the foreign Representatives, and the retractation obtained from the editor by a *ci-devant* Spanish diplomatist at Paris regarding himself. M. Diosdado replied that he did not doubt that the article in question had been inspired by M. Ordega, or by some one connected with him, and that he was astonished M. Ferry should allow M. Ordega, after what had occurred, to remain as French Representative at Tangier, especially as he had not thought proper to insert in the "Gaulois" the disclaimer which M. Ordega had addressed the editor of that journal, as a kind of satisfaction to the members of the Diplomatic Corps at Tangier, who the public believed had been accused by M. Ordega of dishonest practices.

On mentioning to M. Diosdado that I had been falsely accused of having prevented the introduction of improvements and reforms in Morocco, he informed me that M. Cánovas had told him that the French Ambassador at Madrid had put forward a similar accusation against himself, and he had replied that he admitted he had opposed the introduction of improvements through the enterprise of foreign subjects, as it gave rise to increased irregular protection of natives, and to the presentation of unjust and preposterous claims. These two evils, M. Diosdado observed, were bringing about the destruction of all government in this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 167.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 37. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 24, 1884.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 73 of the 14th instant, marked Confidential, reporting that you had been requested to act as intermediary in forwarding confidential communications between the Sultan of Morocco and the President of the French Republic; and I have to state to you that I approve the answer which you made on that occasion

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 168.

The Rev. Newman Hall to Earl Granville.—(Received July 31.)

My Lord, *The Ivy House,* 1, *Hampstead Square, July* 30, 1884.

PERMIT me to ask your Lordship's special attention to the inclosed statement respecting Tangier and Morocco in this day's "Times."

It corroborates all I saw and heard at Tangier last October as regards extortion, trade, and the value of the Consulates and Ministry.

I will not trouble your Lordship with any reply. The kind and prompt notice of my former appeal encourages me in directing attention to this other testimony.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NEWMAN HALL.

Inclosure in No. 168.

Extract from the "Times" of July 30, 1884.

Tangier, July 19, 1884.

MOROCCO.—Some time ago the Sultan received a considerable amount of new coin from France, and sent it to Tafilet for safety, it is said, on account of the unsettled state of the public mind at Mekney, the Governor of Tafilet being a relative of his. When called upon to pay for some of the Krupp guns recently ordered from Germany, His Majesty sent for part of his treasure, but the Treasurer refused to comply with the order, and told the Sultan plainly that it was in safe keeping where it was, and therefore it was inexpedient to remove it from there. The Sultan then ordered the Kaïds, or local Governors, to take all the grain they could get from the farmers at very low fixed prices, and to sell it to the foreign merchants. This is said to be contrary to the Convention of Madrid, and is a fearful hardship to the poorer cultivators, who are being literally squeezed to death. The Sultan also ordered the Kaïds to buy up all the butter they could get and preserve it for troops in the field. This is a shadow of coming events, not now far distant; some say that the end of the "Ramadan," a few days hence, will be the beginning of a civil war. Although the Sultan gets the credit of this system of extortion, it is understood to be the work of his Vizier, who is very unpopular, and, it is said, makes the Sultan do his will.

The most thriving business in Morocco just now is the manufacturing of claims. One plan is said to be this. A "protected" person proceeds to a certain district and sells his services to the Kaïd. The "protected" person then proceeds to visit the "sokos" (markets) with two "adools" (notaries). Wealthy persons are there pointed out to him, and their names taken. Papers are drawn up and duly attested by the "adools," and when next the victims visit the "soko" on business, they are arrested and taken before the Kaïd, who says that he has been ordered by the Sultan to collect certain claims made by such and such a Legation, and they must pay up at once or go to prison. The victims protest, and declare that they have never heard of the claim or claimant before. Then documentary evidence is produced, and iron collars are placed round their necks. These are chained together, and they are marched off to a loathsome dungeon. If this torture has not the desired effect, an iron spike is placed in a socket in the collar, immediately under the chin, supporting the head in a most painful position. When the agony can be borne no longer, the victim yields. Sometimes he really has not got the money, and has to resort to the usurer. He is not allowed to export his wheat and barley—his chief movable property, and, without cattle, he cannot till his ground; therefore he holds on to them to the very last. Trinkets, jewellery, and every species of movable property are parted with, and, last of all, the cattle are taken, and the rich man is reduced to rags and beggary. I am told on good authority that thousands of acres of abundant crops, now ripe for harvest, will never be gathered for this reason. The people are simply driven to despair, and French protection is the only hope for them at present.

Quite recently five poor fellows came to Tangier to seek French protection and applied to a Frenchman, who demanded a large sum of money down. The poor fellows had not got it, but paid what they could, and gave a bond for the rest, duly attested. The Frenchman then proceeded to enforce the bond. The men were thrown into the prison here in Tangier, where two of them still languish, while the other three have been liberated in order that they may raise the money somehow among their friends or from an usurer.

Very recently a number of prisoners, with iron collars round their necks and chained together, were taken from the prison of one of the coast towns to be removed to a prison in the interior, to die of hunger and thirst. They had a chance of living where they had been confined, as their wives and sisters could bring them food and water enough to sustain life, but, in the interior, far away from home and friends, there was absolutely no hope. These were prisoners for debt. Many of them, it is said, were usurers' claims where the original debts, if contracted at all, had been paid twice over, and the claims now pending were for interest upon interest at fearful rates, and these claims are made by "protected" subjects, and enforced by European Legations.

As the mournful procession, with its clanking chains, moved through the gates, women and children, wives, mothers, and daughters, clung to the wretched prisoners in a last, hopeless embrace, but were unmercifully beaten off with sticks by the cruel escort of soldiery, and, bleeding and broken-hearted, were driven to their wretched homes. As the prisoners passed out of the gates, a Moorish official, with streaming tears, was heard

to say, "But for the intervention of a kind Englishman I should have been one of the party." He had been liberated through the efforts of the correspondent to the "Globe."

The Kabyla-Beni-Messara, near Ceuta, are in open revolt. They attacked another tribe, and captured 500 head of cattle, but these were afterwards returned at the instance of the Grand Shereef of Wazan.

Sidi Burgash, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, is still in Paris. He was expected here shortly, but now they say that he must remain where he is for an indefinite period on account of the quarantine arrangements. He is by no means popular here, and I believe many would be glad if he never returned. Cid Tôrres, the officiating Foreign Minister, is much preferred.

On account of the quarantine arrangements French trade is stopped, and there is a good chance behalf of the merchants. Soap, candles, tea, sugar, matches, and many other things of great consumption here, have gone up very considerably in price, and the stock is very low, while for the same reason there has been a great fall in prices of country produce, usually shipped in great quantities to Marseilles, viz., goat-skins, hides, wool, goat's hair, horns, lentils, beeswax, fenugreek seed, gazul, peas, gum sandarach, henna, rose-leaves, and tackout.

Why is it that British trade is so discouraged here? We can supply better tea, sugar, candles, soap, &c., than the French can, and at equally low prices, and we can afford to pay quite as good prices for country produce. We must have an entire change here. English subjects will rather suffer wrong than go to their Consul, who, they say, snubs and bullies them, and increases their difficulties. The entire British trading community in Morocco, without one known exception, unless it be the Jewish traders attached to the Consulate, are full of grievances which I have reason to believe are well grounded. Of what earthly use, then, is our expensive Legation here?

The people here are loudly complaining about the water supply. The old Roman aqueduct, that supplies the fountains in the town, is said to have been tapped on the way to supply property belonging to certain Legations, and partially diverted, and the poor people have to fetch their supply from long distances, and pay for it. This is simply scandalous, considering that we have the best natural water supply in the world; but not less scandalous is the conduct of the Sanitary Committee, composed of the members of the European Legations. A week ago a numerously-signed Memorial was presented to them, praying that the town might be cleansed throughout, and asking that a Sub-Committee, which was named, might be allowed to proceed with the work forthwith, but notwithstanding the urgent and respectful appeal, and the cholera at our very door, no reply whatever has been vouchsafed.

It is reported that the French have wrung from Sidi Burgash a promise of a railway concession, from Tlemcen to Tadla. I hope this is not true. If it is, it will be the beginning of the end.

It is reported that an English steamer is aground about 12 miles from here, near Cape Spartel. Before I close I may have further particulars. The steam-tug "Jackal" has gone to her relief.

No. 169.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 659.) *Foreign Office, August 1, 1884.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to your despatch No. 342 of the 11th June, I transmit to your Excellency copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, expressing his regret that publicity should not have been given to M. Ordega's disclaimer of complicity in the attacks made upon Sir J. D. Hay's character and proceedings in the "Gaulois" newspaper, and stating that he has not received explanations of any kind from M. Ordega himself since his return to Tangier.*

Under these circumstances, I have to request you to again call M. Ferry's attention to the matter, and you will urge upon his Excellency the propriety of giving publicity to M. Ordega's denial that he has used the language attributed to him by the "Gaulois."

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* No. 162.

No. 170.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 39.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 1, 1884.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 70 of the 30th June, I transmit to you herewith copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Amba sador at Paris, requesting his Excellency to urge upon M. Jules Ferry the propriety of giving publicity to M. Ordega's disclaimer of the language attributed to him in the "Gaulois" newspaper with respect to yourself.*

I take this opportunity of assuring you that Her Majesty's Government attach no importance to the attacks upon you in certain English and foreign papers at very low rates which you have called attention. They are fully aware of the important services to the Colony you have rendered to British interests during your long residence in Morocco, and of the friendly interest which you have ever displayed in the natives of that country; and I have much pleasure in adding that they continue to repose the fullest confidence in your zeal, ability, and discretion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 171.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received August 5.)

(No. 75.)

My Lord, *Tangier, July* 30, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 36 of the 21st instant, replying to my despatch No. 60 of the 12th ultimo, relative to the steps alleged to have been taken by the Shereef of Wazan, in concert with M. Ordega, to foment rebellion against the Sultan of Morocco, and acquainting me that, as the information received since the date of the above-mentioned despatch is of a more reassuring nature, your Lordship has only to instruct me to continue to watch events and to afford your Lordship the earliest information of a reliable nature as to any action on the part of the Shereef of Wazan or of the French and Spanish Governments which might afford grounds for a diplomatic representation on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

Your Lordship will have learnt from my despatch No. 68 of the 26th ultimo that the Shereef of Wazan and M. Ordega have altered both their language and conduct since the return of the latter from Paris, and I am informed that M. Ordega has declined to interfere with the local authorities in behalf of some adherents of the Shereef who had hoped to obtain French protection.

On the other hand, I have received a letter from the Vizir, of which I have the honour to inclose a translation, informing me that the attention of the Government is so occupied with the remedial steps which have been taken to restore tranquillity in consequence of the agitation produced by the proceedings of the Shereef that they were unable to turn their attention to the revision of the Convention of Commerce, which I have pressed upon their notice.

A force which I believe consists of about 5,000 men, cavalry and infantry, has arrived, and is encamped within 20 miles of Tangier. These troops are placed at the disposal of the Basha of this province, Kaïd Abdul Saduk, who has orders to chastise and impose a heavy fine on the inhabitants of some thirty villages of the district of Angera, who had evinced about three months ago a rebellious spirit, having refused to allow the Sultan's name to be mentioned in their mosques, and had substituted in their prayers the name of the Shereef of Wazan.

They had also driven off the troops sent by His Shereefian Majesty to their villages to arrest the rebellious Chiefs, and eight of these villagers, who had lately come to Tangier to confer with the Shereef, were arrested, and have been sent in fetters to the Court. The Shereef sent a message to the Basha of Tangier demanding their release, but it was refused, and M. Ordega, when appealed to, as I understand, by the Shereef, declined to interfere.

I am informed that the inhabitants of Angera, though a warlike tribe, will not show any resistance to the Sultan's troops, and that a deputation is about to proceed to the camp of the Sultan's troops to sue for pardon, and to declare their readiness to submit to His Majesty's orders.

* No. 169.

I do not expect that the Basha of Tangier will be disposed to grant their petition. I am told that he will require they deliver a number of hostages who will be sent to the Court, and a very heavy fine will be imposed on the district.

Orders, it is said, have been given also to the Commanders of the forces to proceed to other districts to chastise the inhabitants who had sent deputations to the Shereef of Wazan offering their allegiance.

The Shereef of Wazan has fallen latterly in the estimation of the Mahommedan population. When he passes through the streets of Tangier little or no marks of respect are shown, as was wont before he obtained French protection.

It is reported that the Sultan has sent a Circular to the Governors of the provinces directing that they are not to admit, as heretofore, the mediation of the Shereef of Wazan in behalf of tribes who have incurred the displeasure of the Government.

I do not at present foresee that any fresh disturbances are likely to occur, but I desire to add that, though I applied for leave of absence in a recent despatch, I am quite ready, should your Lordship consider that my presence is desirable at Tangier under present circumstances, to remain at my post.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 171.

Letter addressed by the Vizir to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)

(After the usual preamble.) 26*th Ramadan*, 1301 (*July* 20, 1884).

WE received your letter requesting that the persons appointed to negotiate with you the revision of the Convention should be sent to Tangier, and that one of them should be Cid Abdeslam Ahardan, an inhabitant of Tangier, as you consider him to be an able, intelligent, and trustworthy person.

We communicated to His Shereefian Majesty your letter, and he has taken what you say into consideration, and he directed us to reply, and to remind you that the Government is still occupied unceasingly in seeking to correct the disorders produced by the Wazany,* such as the employment of a Khaleefa (Lieutenant) to govern at Wazan, and the disaffection brought about by him amongst the inhabitants of the village Ain Hamra of Angera, and their consequent disobedience to their Governor, so much so that they refused to deliver that which is due from them, and amongst these, that which is owing on account of the robbery of the house of your clerk, Novella. They repelled the troops sent by the Governor to be quartered upon them to establish order. In consequence of these proceedings, a force has been dispatched to encamp in their district, and to chastise them for disobedience. Amongst other infractions committed by him (the Shereef of Wazan) is that he has interfered with the action of the Governors, in behalf of persons who do not belong to his (the Shereef's) farms, and therefore he has no right of interference. One of his (the Shereef's) irregular acts has been to appoint an "Emkaddem" (a Chief) in his farms, and that this person is told to collect tithes and taxes, and to deliver the proceeds to him, and that he should then deliver them to the Governor. Whereas the arrangement entered into through Cid Mohammed Bargash was to confirm only the privileges he (the Wazany) enjoyed before with His Shereefian Majesty, amongst which was that he should be treated with honour and respect, but that the people employed in his farms should be under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the districts where they dwell, and that they should be under the Governor's control, and that he (the Governor) should collect the tithes and the taxes from them.

When these irregular proceedings have been corrected and put a stop to, with God's help, the Commissioners shall be sent, and Ahardan shall be appointed to act with them.

Make your mind easy on this subject, O esteemed friend; we are sure you will understand the excuse we have now offered, and will accept it.

Peace.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN ALARBY BEN MOKTSAR.

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* The Shereef of Wazan. The Sultan no longer calls him a Shereef.—J. H. D. H.

No. 172.

*Earl Granville to Sir J. Walsham.**

(No. 694.)

Foreign Office, August 13, 1884.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier relative to the present condition of affairs in Morocco.†

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 173.

Mr. White to Earl Granville.—(Received September 3.)

(No. 80.)

Tangier, August 27, 1884.

My Lord,

THE Basha of Tangier, who commands the forces sent by the Sultan to chastise the rebel villages in Anjera, was about to proceed to the village of Ain Hamra, whose inhabitants had proclaimed the Shereef of Wazan as their Ruler and Sovereign, when the Shereef, accompanied by M. Blondel, a Secretary of the French Legation, and a number of his dependants, left Tangier suddenly and proceeded to Ain Hamra.

Cid Mohammed Bargash, alarmed at this movement, which was evidently intended to protect the revolted villagers by their presence, and prevent the Basha attacking them, at once addressed a note to M. Ordega, remonstrating on this strange proceeding, and protesting that, if they remained at Ain Hamra, the Moorish Government would not be held responsible should any untoward incident occur owing to their presence in a village marked out for chastisement for their revolt.

M. Ordega, in reply to this note, expressed his surprise at receiving the communication, and stated that the Shereef and M. Blondel were only engaged in a "partie de chasse."

On the 24th instant M. Blondel returned to Tangier, and subsequently called on Cid Mohammed Bargash with M. Bertrand, the Chancelier of the French Legation, and by direction of M. Ordega made a formal complaint against the Basha of Tangier for having, as they alleged, sent to inquire of the Shereef and M. Blondel why they had come to Ain Hamra, and to request them to withdraw, and also for having caused a village farrier, who was shoeing the horse of M. Blondel, to be arrested.

M. Ordega made a serious grievance of this conduct of the Basha, and demanded satisfaction. Cid Mohammed Bargash replied that he had foreseen that the visit of the Shereef and the French Secretary at such a time to Ain Hamra would inevitably give rise to a question, and he had on this account protested against it. He promised, however, that he would write to the Basha and make inquiry into the matter.

On the 25th instant M. Blondel returned to Ain Hamra, where he still remains with the Shereef, the French flag, it is stated, floating over their encampment.

M. Ordega has never ceased interceding with Cid Mohammed Bargash for the villagers of Ain Hamra, but when asked whether he protects them he always replies in the negative.

It is evident that M. Ordega and the Shereef are persuaded that, if the Sultan succeeds in asserting his authority over the rebellious adherents of the Shereef, and chastises them, a fatal blow will be dealt to the influence of the Shereef; whereas, if they can in any way shield the rebels from punishment, the Shereef's prestige will be maintained and the authority of the Sultan will be proportionally weakened. It is with this view that the visit of the Shereef and M. Blondel to Ain Hamra was planned, and there they will probably remain as long as the Sultan's troops occupy Anjera, counting on the timidity of the Moorish authorities, who will be afraid to move on that village whilst the French flag is displayed there; or else they will succeed in their attempt to establish a grievance by which fresh complications may be brought about, which must result unfavourably to the Moorish Government as the weaker party.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HORACE P. WHITE.

P.S. *August* 28.—Since writing the above I have received information that the French flag is not hoisted at Ain Hamra, as was generally reported, but that a large number of the rebellious tribesmen are collected in that village, gathering round the Shereef.

H. P. W.

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* Also to Mr. de Bunsen (No. 106).

† No. 171.

No. 174.

Sir R. Morier to Earl Granville.—(Received September 17.)

(No. 101.)

La Granja, September 12, 1884.

My Lord,

THOUGH the Minister of State returned to Madrid with the King, his Excellency was so busy during the few days that he spent in the capital previously to coming on here that it was only to-day that I had occasion to speak to him.

His Excellency at once entered on the subject of Morocco, and dwelt somewhat ostentatiously on the arrangements which had been come to with France as to the *modus vivendi* to be observed there. It had been agreed that the French Government should communicate the instructions which they sent to their Minister at Tangier to the Spanish Government, and that the Spanish Government should act similarly by the French Government. This had accordingly been done, and, thanks apparently to this *entente cordiale* (this was not said *totidem verbis*, but appeared to me to be what his Excellency wished to insinuate), the summer months had passed in comparative quiet, Señor Diosdado and M. Ordega not having failed to act in concert in accordance with the instructions which they had severally received. Lately, however, as I was doubtless aware, M. Ordega had sent a Secretary of his Legation on a mission to a tribe which had, on behalf of the Shereef of Wazan, raised the standard of rebellion against the Sultan, thus paralyzing the action of the Central Government, and sensibly threatening the stability of the Monarchy. Señor Diosdado had protested against this measure, but M. Ordega had assured him that his only object was to prevent bloodshed. The matter appeared serious, and his Excellency had telegraphed both to Paris and London to inquire whether a statement contained in an English paper to the effect that your Lordship had obtained satisfactory assurances from M. Ferry on the subject was correct.

I told the Marquis del Pazo de la Merced that I knew nothing of these later events; but that with reference to what had passed between us before I left Madrid, I had been instructed by your Lordship to inform his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government had read with exceptional interest the report I had given of the views of the Spanish Government as expressed to me both by his Excellency and by Señor Cánovas, and had given their full weight to the considerations set forth by their Excellencies. Shortly after receiving this communication, the question of Morocco had formed the subject of a confidential interchange of views with the French Government, and the assurances given by the latter were so positive and left so little room to doubt their sincerity, that Her Majesty's Government had felt that there was no reason for the present to apprehend any danger to the maintenance of the *status quo*. I was authorized to say that Her Majesty's Government had in no way altered their attitude as regarded the desirability of maintaining the Moorish Empire or their wish to co-operate with Spain in giving stability to the Sultan's throne. They had therefore learnt with pleasure that the Spanish Government shared these views, and would be ready as heretofore to exchange ideas with them on the Moorish question.

I had drawn up a short statement in the words of the Memorandum approved by your Lordship in London, and at his Excellency's request I left this statement with him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. B. D. MORIER.

No. 175.

Earl Granville to Sir R. Morier.

(No. 114.)

Foreign Office, September 25, 1884.

Sir,

I APPROVE the language which you held to the Marquis del Pazo de la Mercedo respecting Morocco, as well as your having left a Memorandum with his Excellency on the same subject, as reported in your despatch No. 101 of the 12th instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 176.

Consul White to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)

(No. 91.)
My Lord, *Tangier, September 22, 1884.*

REFERRING to my despatch No. 80 of the 27th ultimo, I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that M. Ordega continues to pursue the same tactics for preventing the Sultan carrying into execution his declared intention of chastising his rebellious subjects in Anjera, or at least the people of Ain Hamra, who had revolted against His Majesty's authority.

By the constant presence in that village of the Shereef of Wazan, and the visits of M. Blondel, a Secretary of the French Legation, the action of the Basha of Tangier, who commands the expedition, has been paralyzed, as both he and Cid Mohammed Bargash feared that, by attacking Ain Hamra, occasion might be afforded for some trumped-up charge of an affront offered to the Shereef or M. Blondel, followed by a demand for reparation, backed possibly by the presence of a French squadron at Tangier.

The Sultan's troops have been thus kept for a considerable time in an enforced state of inaction, which has caused the authority of the Sultan to be brought into contempt and ridicule.

Cid Mohammed Bargash informed me confidentially that, to his repeated requests that the Shereef be ordered to withdraw from Ain Hamra, M. Ordega had replied that he had no authority to order a French-protected subject to withdraw from a village where he held property; but that the Sultan, indignant and irritated at this state of things, had lately sent peremptory orders that the troops move on Ain Hamra. Cid Mohammed therefore addressed a note to M. Ordega, stating that Ain Hamra would be immediately attacked, and that if the Shereef was found there he would be arrested and sent in safety to the French Legation at Tangier, but that if he and his followers offered resistance to the Sultan's troops, and he should be killed or injured, his blood would be on his own head.

Upon receipt of this note M. Ordega directed the Shereef to return to Tangier, stating, as I have been informed, that his life is too precious to France to be placed in jeopardy; but upon the withdrawal of the Shereef from Ain Hamra, M. Blondel, accompanied by M. Gaspari, Interpreter of the French Legation, proceeded thither, and they have been there, or in the neighbourhood, for some days.

It is reported that the Basha of Tangier is coming here to confer with Cid Mohammed Bargash as to the course to be adopted under these circumstances.

The object of M. Ordega is evidently to wear out the Sultan with continued vexations until, perceiving that there is no hope of his obtaining the active support of foreign Governments, His Majesty decides either to follow the example of the late Bey of Tunis, and to throw himself into the arms of the French, or, finding the present state of things intolerable, he may be spurred into doing some rash act, and thus give France a plausible pretext for undisguised intervention.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HORACE P. WHITE.

No. 177.

Consul White to Earl Granville.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 93.)
My Lord, *Tangier, September 25, 1884.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 91 of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to report that M. Blondel having returned to Tangier from Ain Hamra, Kaid Abd-es-Saduk, the Governor of Tangier, proceeded with the troops under his command to a spot called Et-Tuein, which adjoins Ain Hamra.

Upon their arrival at this place a number of the inhabitants of Ain Hamra went to the camp, and sacrificed some heads of cattle in token of submission, praying for mercy.

The Basha informed them that the Sultan had directed that their lives and property should be spared conditionally upon their submitting to His Majesty's orders, surrendering twenty prisoners to be designated by the Basha, paying the fine that would be levied upon them, and sending a certain number of hostages to the Court at Fez.

Twenty prisoners from Ain Hamra having this day arrived at Tangier, it would

appear that the villagers have accepted the conditions imposed upon them, and have made a full and complete submission.

The French Minister, M. Ordega, has been urgent in his endeavours to obtain a free pardon for the people of Ain Hamra, and has made frequent representations at the Sultan's Court with this object, in order to save the prestige of his protégé, the Shereef of Wazan.

Failing in obtaining a promise of free pardon, M. Ordega offered that, if the Sultan would pardon all the other inhabitants of Ain Hamra, the Shereef would cause a certain number of them to be delivered to the Basha of Tangier. The Sultan, however, declined to admit of the Shereef acting as an intermediary between him and his subjects.

During these negotiations M. Ordega took care to provide against any attack upon Ain Hamra by the Sultan's troops, keeping the Shereef or M. Blondel constantly in that village. Finding, however, the Sultan determined at all costs to assert his authority, M. Ordega finally thought fit to content himself with obtaining an assurance that the lives and property of the villagers should be respected if they submitted to the Sultan's demands. Hence the withdrawal of M. Blondel from Ain Hamra.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HORACE P. WHITE.

No. 178.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received November 8.)

(No. 99.)
My Lord, *Tangier, October 30, 1884.*

YESTERDAY the French iron-clad frigate "Suffren" arrived from Toulon. M. Ordega wrote to the Sanitary Board, which, as your Lordship is aware, is composed of the foreign Representatives, and requested to be informed what term of observation would be imposed on this vessel.

The Board having, at the outbreak of cholera in the south of France, decided to follow the example of Gibraltar, and order that all vessels arriving from French Mediterranean ports should be refused admittance, replied that their previous decision must be maintained, and the "Suffren" be requested to leave the port.

To this decision M. Ordega appended the following note: "Le 'Suffren' est ici par ordre de mon Gouvernement et restera en rade."

The Board replied that they took note of this declaration as they had not the power to compel a ship of war to leave the harbour, and that they would inquire whether any exception is made at Gibraltar or in Spanish ports in favour of vessels of war as regards quarantine regulations.

It has not transpired what may be the object of the visit of the "Suffren," but Cid Mohammed Bargash told me yesterday that there were several questions pending with the French Minister, though he had ceased to intervene on behalf of the tribes of Anjera, who had revolted against the authority of the Sultan, and proclaimed the Shereef of Wazan as their Sovereign.

M. Ordega is, no doubt, greatly irritated at the failure of the plot he and the Shereef had laid for bringing about the downfall of the Sultan,* and will probably not be disposed to rest until he can find grounds for causing complications between the two Governments, though it can hardly be imagined that M. Ferry will be disposed, during the present critical state of affairs in China, to seek for a rupture of relations with Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 179.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 100. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, November 3, 1884.*

FROM private information I have received,† it would appear that the chief ground for complaint the French Minister has put forward against the Moorish Government is the

* See No. 76 of July 30, No. 90 of August 27, Nos. 91 and 93 of September 22 and 25, 1884.
† Refer to despatch No. 99 of the 30th October reporting arrival of French iron-clad.

arrest and imprisonment of two Algerines at Fez. The account given to me of this occurrence by one of the Secretaries of the Vizier is as follows:—

A deputation of butchers had presented themselves at the Court to lay before the competent authorities some grievance; they were accompanied by two Algerines, who are not butchers. These latter intervened, and indulged, as it is alleged, in insolent language to the "Mool Meshwa," or chief officer of the Court, who thereupon arrested and imprisoned them.

According to Treaty stipulations between Morocco and other Powers, no person under foreign protection can be arrested or imprisoned by a Moorish authority. No French Agent resides at Fez, but there is an Algerine Agent there, to whom the Moorish Government ought properly to have addressed their complaint against these French citizens: it is said that when that Agent complained of the arrest of the Algerines, the authorities refused to liberate them.

It is certainly an anomalous state of affairs that foreign subjects can enter the precincts of the Court, and insult the chief officer; but be that as it may, the Moorish Government has committed a wrong, and I am led to suppose that the visit of the French iron-clad "Suffren" is chiefly owing to this affair, though I learn that claims of persons under French protection to a large amount have also been presented. M. Ordega will, no doubt, seek to exaggerate the importance of the alleged French grievances against this weak and wretched Government.

Under these circumstances I sent off yesterday an express courier to Fez with a private and confidential letter I have addressed the Vizier, of which I transmit a translation, urging that the Algerines be released, and that satisfaction be given. I recommended, also, that the Government should seek to settle, promptly and with justice, any grievance or claim which M. Ordega may present.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 179.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Vizier.

(Private and Confidential.)
(Translation.) *Tangier, October* 31, 1884.

A FRENCH iron-clad anchored in this bay the day after my arrival on the 28th. I hear that the French Minister has various subjects of complaint, amongst them that two Algerines, who are entitled to be considered as French citizens, have lately been arrested and imprisoned by the authorities at Fez. This is a grave affair, for it is a violation of Treaty that a Moorish authority arrest, imprison, or punish foreign subjects.

I have to urge, as the Representative of a friendly Government, that these men be liberated at once, and that, if a demand for compensation be put forward by the French Minister, it be granted, and an apology be offered.

I strongly advise that other questions pending with the French should be settled with justice and promptitude. It is most impolitic and imprudent to give grounds of offence to the Government of France, the powerful neighbour of Morocco.

The question of the Shereef has, it would appear, been settled to the satisfaction of the Sultan; the French Minister probably feels considerable dissatisfaction on account of the false position in which their protégé, Hadj Abdesselam, of Wazan, has been placed by the chastisement of the Anjera tribe, who had rebelled against the Sultan at his instigation.

Under these circumstances, the Moorish Government should seek to avoid that which may give the French Minister grounds for accumulating grievances against the Government of the Sultan. The French may have their hands full at the present time in consequence of the war with China, but any day peace may be brought about with that Power, and then they will be free to take decisive action in other parts of the world.

Read to His Shereefian Majesty what I have written. I send this courier express solely to give this friendly warning.

I will not write for the present on pending British affairs, which I find in the same state as when I left, though Cid Suleyman promises to give me a list of some affairs which have been settled.

The English squadron of six iron-clads, under the command of the Queen's son, is at Gibraltar. It leaves Gibraltar to-morrow, and returns in twenty days.

Present my respectful salaams to His Shereefian Majesty, and say that I hope His Majesty is in good health, as I cordially desire.

Urge His Shereefian Majesty to warn his authorities against committing acts of aggression towards foreign subjects or protected persons, which I am told are becoming frequent. Any day a rupture of relations might thus be brought about with a friendly Government.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 180.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received November* 18.)

(No. 101. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, November* 11, 1884.

M. DIOSDADO met me out riding yesterday, and said he had just left M. Ordega, with whom he had a long conversation. M. Diosdado said that, as the Government at Madrid had directed him to endeavour to keep on friendly and intimate terms with the French Representative, he had asked M. Ordega if there was any foundation for the statement made in French journals that in the approaching Conference at Berlin a question was to be raised about Morocco, and that this country, or a portion of it, would be allotted to France.

M. Ordega replied that for the present he did not suppose any decision had been come to by his Government, but that he would fulfil the promise he had already made to M. Diosdado of giving him timely notice of the intentions of the French Government regarding Morocco.

M. Diosdado inquired whether there was any grave question pending between the French and Moorish Governments, that the iron-clad "Suffren" had been sent to Tangier.

M. Ordega replied that the Moorish Government had committed an infraction of Treaty stipulations by the arrest of two Algerines, and that officers at the Moorish Court had grossly insulted their Algerine Agent at Fez; that other French-protected subjects had been ill-treated; and that there were pecuniary claims of protected persons to a very large amount, for which payment was about to be demanded.

M. Ordega added that he was on the point of dispatching an express to the Court at Fez to demand full satisfaction without addressing himself either to Cid Mohammed Bargash or to Hadj Mohammed Torres, that the "Suffren" would remain in this bay until he received his reply, and that the Commander had received orders to support him if necessary.

M. Diosdado said, with a smile, that he had asked M. Ordega to give him a notice of at least ten days before a bombardment took place.

M. Diosdado requested me to consider as very confidential what he had imparted to me, adding that he believed it was the intention of M. Ordega to exact the payment of a very large sum of money as satisfaction.

I was assured yesterday by Hadj Mohammed Torres, before I met M. Diosdado, that the Algerine Agent at Fez had not been insulted by the authorities, but that he had complained of some Askar having run up against him with an animal, carrying a ram in panniers, whose horns had torn his dress. The Askar were imprisoned, but were subsequently liberated without notice being given to the Algerine Agent. The latter had complained of this as a want of consideration on the part of the Governor of Fez, but the affair had been arranged amicably. M. Ordega had, however, refused to accept the arrangement, and it was one of the grievances for which satisfaction would be demanded.

I held to Hadj Mohammed Torres and to Cid Mohammed Ben Suleiman, the Sultan's Secretary, similar language to that I have addressed the Vizir* regarding these questions with the French Minister, and I warned them against giving any further just grounds for complaint, as I said M. Ordega was evidently bent upon seeking for a pretext to break off relations, being greatly vexed that his ambitious projects about the Shereef had been thwarted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—At the moment of closing this despatch I learn that the Paris "Evénement" announces that the Governor of Algeria has received orders from Paris to prepare at once

* See despatch No. 100 of November 3, 1884, *ante*, No. 28.

three expeditionary columns, which are to be sent to Morocco in order to support the demands of France for reparation from the Sultan.

J. H. D. H.

No. 181.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received November 19.)

(No. 102.)
My Lord, *Tangier, November 12, 1884.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 101 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that two Algerines, who had been imprisoned by the authorities at Fez, have arrived here, and have been delivered over to the French Legation.

It is said that M. Ordega has prepared peremptory demands requiring satisfaction from this Government for this and other grievances, which the Sultan will be required to accede to, or risk a rupture of relations.

The Sultan's Secretary, Cid Mohammed Ben Suleyman, called at my office to-day. I gave him the "Gibraltar Chronicle" of the 10th instant, which contained a copy of the extract from the "Évènement," of Paris, of the 3rd November, transmitted to your Lordship in the postscript of the above-mentioned despatch; and I requested him to send off an express to the Sultan with the information, adding, however, that I could not vouch for the accuracy of the report it contained, but that I apprehended very serious consequences might ensue if the satisfaction which M. Ordega demanded was not acceded to; adding that, even if the removal of the present Governor of Fez was demanded on account of his having arrested French citizens contrary to Treaty rights, it should be granted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 182.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 47.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 21, 1884.*

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 100 of the 3rd instant, inclosing copy of a note which you addressed to the Vizier, urging him to take steps for the release of the two Algerines under French protection who were arrested under the circumstances therein set forth, and advising him at the same time to settle promptly and with justice any grievance or claim which M. Ordega might present; and I have to state to you that your action in this matter is approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 183.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 103. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, November 15, 1884.*

I LEARN confidentially from Cid Mohammed Ben Suleyman* that M. Ordega informed Cid Mohammed Bargash yesterday that he was about to dispatch an express courier to the Court with a note containing demands that he was ordered by his Government to put forward, and that if the courier did not return within ten days with a favourable reply he would embark, meaning, I conclude, that he would break off relations.

He declined to make known to Cid Mohammed Bargash the nature of the demands he had put forward for fear they should be divulged.

Cid Mohammed Bargash is stated to have replied in friendly language that, as it will take a courier five days to go to Fez and five to return, and only ten were granted for a reply, whatever M. Ordega intended to do had better be done at once. M. Ordega then said he would extend the term to fifteen days.

* One of the Sultan's private Secretaries.—J. H. D. H.

On receipt of this information, I immediately dispatched a private letter to the Vizier, referring to the advice I had lately given him, and urging in the strongest language that the Sultan should accede to the demands of the French Minister for satisfaction,* or otherwise a rupture of relations may ensue.

A person who is in the confidence of M. Benchimol, the native interpreter of the French Legation, says that the latter informed him that an army of 15,000 men has been ordered to proceed to Hemsen, and that three more ships of war, in addition to the iron-clad "Suffren," are expected to arrive at Tangier shortly. This report may perhaps be spread purposely by the French Legation to induce this Government to accede without demur to M. Ordega's demands.

I think the relations between France and this country are in a very critical state, produced by the action of M. Ordega.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 184.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.†

(No. 992. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November 22, 1884.*

I INCLOSE herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of despatches, as marked in the margin,‡ which have been received from Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, reporting the circumstances attending the visit of a French iron-clad at that port.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 185.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received November 26, 8 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Tangiers, November 26, 1884, 6 P.M.*

FRENCH differences are arranged; salutes have been exchanged; iron-clad departs.

No. 186.

Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.§

(No. 1020.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November 28, 1884.*

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, the accompanying copy of a telegram from Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, reporting the settlement of French differences and the departure of the French iron-clad.‖

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 187.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received December 2.)

(No. 105. Ext. 7.)
My Lord, *Tangier, November 26, 1884.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have this day addressed the following telegram to your Lordship:—

"The differences between France and Morocco have been settled, and the 'Suffren' exchanged salutes with the town.

"She is about to leave this bay."

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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* In giving this advice I conclude there is no demand for a cession of territory or of a port.—J. H. D. H.

† Also to Sir R. Morier (No. 141). ‡ Nos. 178 and 179.

§ Also to Sir J. S. Lumley (No. 245), Sir E. Malet (No. 373), Sir A. Paget (No. 185), Mr. Wyndham (No. 348), Sir E. Thornton (No. 361), and Sir R. Morier (No. 144)

‖ No. 48.

No. 188.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received December* 2.)

(No. 106. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, November* 26, 1884.

WITH reference to my telegram of this day's date, I have the honour to transmit the translation of a private letter I have just received from the Vizier, thanking me for my advice regarding the questions pending between the French Legation and the Moorish Government, and assuring me that it would be followed, and that the differences with the French Minister would be amicably settled.

As your Lordship will have learnt from the above-mentioned telegram, this promise has already been carried out, and the iron-clad "Suffren" will, I am told, leave to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 188.

The Vizier to Sir J. H. Drummond Hay.

(Private.)
(Translation.)
(After usual compliments.) 30 *Muharrem*, 1302 (*November* 20, 1884).

WE have received your friendly letter containing the Memorandum, for which we thank you, and pray God's blessing be on you, and that all your best wishes may be fulfilled.

Be assured, and let your mind be at ease; there shall be no deviation from what you recommend. When the hearts of your friendly Government and of yourself are with us, matters will easily be settled, and nothing will happen of an untoward character.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN ALARBY BEN EL MOKHTAR.

No. 189.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received December* 8.)

(No. 107. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, December* 1, 1884.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 106, Confidential, of the 26th ultimo, transmitting the translation of a letter addressed to me by the Vizir Mokhtar, conveying the thanks of the Sultan for the counsels I had offered regarding the late differences with the French Minister, I have the honour to transmit the translation of a further letter from the Vizir, in which he narrates how it came to pass that the two Algerines were arrested, and describes the perplexing position in which the Moorish authorities are placed when persons under foreign protection commit misdemeanours or crimes, and the authorities are powerless to arrest or punish them.

With the view of illustrating the difficulties with which the Moorish Government has to contend on account of irregular protection being afforded to Moorish subjects, the Vizir transmits a letter from the Governor of a district in Reef to the Sultan, in which he reports the proceedings of a Moor, named Hamu, who had been employed as collector of taxes in that province. This Moor was granted protection by the French Minister and sent back to Reef, where he is actively engaged in stirring up rebellion.

The Vizir informs me that the Sultan has directed him to request me to confer with Cid Mohammed Bargash, and also to speak with M. Ordega on this subject. In case I do not accede to this request, the Vizir asks for my advice how they should proceed to remedy the evil complained of.

I have the honour to transmit the translation of the reply I have addressed to the Vizir in the form of a private and confidential letter, and I trust the advice I have given may meet with your Lordship's approval.

The complaint about the proceedings of Hamu, who had been placed in a most irregular manner under French protection by M. Ordega, had already been brought forward by the Sultan, when he directed last spring that representations should be made to M. Ordega regarding the protection afforded to the Shereef of Wazan. The complaint was presented to M. Ordega, but it does not appear that any satisfaction was obtained.

I cannot believe that the French Government could have authorized M. Ordega to act as it is alleged he has done in affording protection to Hamu, and sending him back to Reef to stir up rebellion; but there is no doubt in my mind that M. Ordega's aim has been, and still is, to create such a state of affairs in this country as may tend to destroy all Government, and the slender power of control which the Sultan still retains over the unruly tribes in the Reef and elsewhere; to prepare the country, in fact, for carrying out the ambitious views which he and many other persons in France make no secret of entertaining.

In support of this supposition I will now relate the language held by a foreigner, an intimate friend of M. Ordega's, to my informant, an officer of rank. "After all," he said, "Sir John Hay was right in taking steps to prevent the Shereef of Wazan's attempt to raise a rebellion against the Sultan, and to place himself on the throne. M. Ordega told me months ago, when the Anjera tribes and others had been induced to declare themselves ready to support the pretensions of the Shereef of Wazan, that he (M. Ordega) was confident that the insurrection would spread, that the Shereef had only to march towards Fez, and the whole country would rise against the Sultan; and that, with 2,000,000 francs, which he would be enabled to supply, and the appearance of a French army on the frontier, the Shereef of Wazan would become Sovereign of the country, which would be placed under a French Protectorate."

That game, however, has been played out, and M. Ordega's expectations have not been realized. My object in giving this information is to show your Lordship that I am justified in considering M. Ordega a most dangerous person, and I firmly believe that if he remains he will continue to seek for a pretext to bring about hostilities between France and Morocco when the fitting moment arrives, and France has not her hands so full as at the present time. M. Ordega makes no secret of his conviction that he would have the support and approval of the French people by pursuing a vigorous policy, and that the French Government would be compelled also by circumstances to accept and approve a *fait accompli*.

I shall vigilantly watch M. Ordega's proceedings, and continue to do all in my power to prevent any act on the part of the Sultan or his Government which might give the French Government or M. Ordega any pretext for a quarrel.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 189.

The Vizir Mokhtar to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)
(Private.)
(After compliments.) *November* 17, 1884.

WE received your private letter announcing your safe arrival at Tangier, and also the arrival of a French iron-clad for the object you explain, and stating that you have heard that the French Minister has various complaints, amongst them the arrest of two Algerines. We have learnt all that you point out in urging that these affairs be promptly settled, and that the authorities of His Shereefian Majesty should be careful to abstain from laying hands upon foreign subjects or persons under protection, for such proceedings might at any time bring about a rupture of relations with some friendly Power.

We communicated your letter to His Shereefian Majesty, who has had under his consideration all that you have stated. His Majesty is pleased, as we also are, O friend, to learn of your safe arrival. His Shereefian Majesty ordered us to reply regarding the arrest of the Algerines, and to recount the truth as to what has happened, which is as follows:—

The butchers of Fez, especially those under foreign protection, commit infractions of the law, and are engaged in fraud and irregularities, selling meat at the prices they choose without regard to the price fixed by the Governor of the Market;* they refuse to

* The prices of meat, bread, &c., are always fixed by the "Governor of the Market."—J. H. D. H.

obey him or any one else. His Shereefian Majesty issued an Order to the Governor of the city to send the butchers, protected and unprotected, to the Shereefian Court, in order that an inquiry should be made into the conduct of them all, for some of the protected persons are innocent of these offences.

The butchers were brought to the Court, and amongst them the two Algerines, as above mentioned. These latter indulged in offensive and insolent language; one of them, Sabahy, is not a butcher, but merely an associate of the butchers, who encourages them to resist the orders of the authorities. His Majesty ordered that these two men should be arrested with the others as a punishment, to check their insolence to authorities, and unjust conduct towards the inhabitants. Some of the protected persons are in the habit of receiving bribes from the tradesmen, to support them in resisting the authorities in their efforts to check irregularities and fraud. You must be aware that to pass unnoticed such conduct would lead to the destruction of all authority, and to serious troubles, for should those who are not protected have grounds for complaint against a protected person, and present their complaint to the authorities, and find that the latter are powerless to act, and that justice could not be obtained, they might then seek to take the law into their own hands to revenge themselves, and subsequently escape from the town; then the protected person would declare that the Government is to be held responsible.

Taking such a state of affairs into consideration, the authorities have arrested protected persons for the commission of irregularities, as they considered the responsibility of arresting them was preferable to the responsibility which would be incurred if a protected person was injured or killed. Moreover, if the Governor of the Market cannot control the acts of protected persons like butchers, and they sell and buy as they choose contrary to established regulations, and prices are demanded, for instance, at a shop, which give rise to disputes and affrays on the part of the inhabitants, upon whom is the responsibility to fall should a protected person wound or kill any one? The Government might make representations to obtain justice and ask that protection be withdrawn, but the demand might be refused and disputes would ensue, and false documentary evidence be produced on behalf of the protected person.

For instance, as regards irregular protection, we have to make known what occurred in the case of Mohammed Hamu, the Alkalayan. The Governor of Oochda had arrested him by order of His Shereefian Majesty, on account of his misconduct in extorting large sums of money from the tribe of Alkalaya,* where he was then employed by His Majesty as a collector of revenue; he had also brought about opposition to the authority of the Governor. This man was sent to Tangier viâ Ghazowat† lest he should escape, as might have happened had he been sent by land to the Shereefian Court. Then a French merchant of that place (Ghazowat) presented a claim of 8,000 dollars against him (Hamu), the real object being to get him out of the hands of His Shereefian Majesty's Government. The French Governor of Tlemsen took him (Hamu) into custody until he should pay the money, when, he said, he would be handed over to the Moorish Government. A discussion took place on this subject with the French Minister at Tangier, who caused Hamu to be delivered up to the Government, saying that he had become responsible that the money should be paid to the merchant; he therefore required that orders should be sent to the Governor of Alkalaya and to the collectors of revenue to sell Hamu's property in that district. This was done, but the money realized by the sale of the property did not amount to the sum claimed; then Hamu was ordered to make up the difference, upon which Hamu declared he did not owe this money. An investigation took place, and it was found that Hamu's statement was correct, and the Minister required that Hamu should be brought to Tangier. This was agreed upon, and Hamu was sent in irons by the Government to the Minister, in order that he might settle with the merchant. The French Minister required that he should pay what the merchant declared was still owing, or that he would be given up again to His Shereefian Majesty's Government. Hamu then paid the money, and the French Minister set him at liberty, giving him protection contrary to all right and to Treaty, and sent him back to the tribe of Alkalaya to create disturbances and insurrection.

Representations have repeatedly been made that Hamu is creating disorder and inciting revolt, and should therefore be delivered up to the Government, but no attention has been paid, and Hamu remains there continuing to foment troubles. Amongst other evidence you will see from the inclosed copy of a letter from the Governor, Kaid Mokhtar Algham, of Alkalaya, how Hamu is engaged in fomenting discord and dissension between the tribes of Alkalaya and Jama Alfoof, with the intention of bringing about an insurrection, and also in encouraging the tribe of Beni Boo Yfroor to resist

* Alkalaya is a district in the Reef.

† In Algeria.—J. H. D. H.

the authority of their Governor, which caused an affray, wherein many were killed and wounded, and others have remained as rebels.

We have made all this known to you, O our friend, to learn what the Government can do, whether they are to shut their eyes and take no notice of these proceedings in fomenting rebellion in Alkalaya, and also in other districts of the Reef, and thus to allow these disorders to extend, or whether they should arrest Hamu, when a question would arise with his protector. Point out to us, O friend, what we are to do. It is on account of proceedings such as these that the Government is disposed to arrest protected persons engaged in creating troubles, as happened in the case of the two Algerines, so as to check an evil. Turn your attention to all this.

Our Lord has ordered us to write to ask that you should take an opportunity of speaking to the French Minister upon this subject, and of pointing out the advisability of his taking steps to check the irregularities of protected persons, and to keep them within the bounds of what is legal, and that Hamu the Alkalayan be handed over to the Government, for if Hamu was delivered up to the Minister, it was in order that he might recover from him what was alleged to be due to the French merchant, and then restore him to the Government. If you cannot accede to this, tell us what we are to do when protected persons infringe the law. Discuss with Cid Mohammed Bargash and with the French Minister as to what is to be done, and we shall feel much obliged.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN ALARBY BEN EL MOKHTAR.

Inclosure 2 in No. 189.

Letter addressed by the Governor of Alkalaya, Kaid Mokhtar Alamar, to the Sultan.

(Translation.)

(After preamble.) *Muharrem* 11, 1302 (*November* 1, 1884).

BE it known to our Lord and Master that Mohammed Hamu Alfeklany has, since his return, been fomenting disorders and dissension by his intrigues in Alkalaya, and raising the flame of rebellion. Our Lord the Sultan ordered us to watch his conduct, which we have done. He has been engaged in creating disorders everywhere, and markedly amongst the people of Beni Boo Yfroor, who he induced to rise against their Governor; a fight took place, and there were men killed and wounded.

He gave as an excuse for his conduct that the value of the land which had been bought from him by the Sultan had not been delivered to the Customs authorities near Melilla.

When he was engaged in producing insurrection amongst the Beni Boo Yfroor he encouraged also his brothers of Beni Faklan and Aduya to rise in revolt against their Governors, and he tried to induce my followers to join them. When I heard of this I ordered my followers and brethren to withdraw from him, and to have nothing to do with him; so they told Hamu that they would not join any one without an order from the Sultan, as his (Hamu's) brethren are rebels; they are under the jurisdiction of the Governors of Beni Faklan and Aduya, but he (the Governor) cannot keep them in order. This Hamu will not abandon his revolutionary proceedings, and, as is known, rebellion marches like fire.

We beg of our Lord the Sultan not to permit that Hamu should continue to foment rebellion, and that he be chastised, and that our Lord write to his officer, Kaid Embarak, to report upon his proceedings, and to state who are the rebels, so that they may be arrested, and I shall be ready to assist. We beg also that our Lord should not forget to appoint some one to govern the tribes of Faklan and Aduya; they are the chief promoters of insurrection in Alkalaya.

The officer of our Lord, Hamed Ben el Haday el Setuty, was sent under arrest to the Court of our Lord.

We beg that our Lord order his officer, Kaid el Dublali, to assist me in restoring order, and I will point out to him who are the rebels that should be arrested should His Shereefian Majesty so ordain. Peace.

Note of Vizier at end of this letter.

This copy can be shown to Cid Mohammed Bargash if you think proper.

Inclosure 3 in No. 189.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to the Vizir.

(Translation.)
(Private and Confidential.)
(After compliments.) *December* 1, 1884.

I HAVE received your letter of the 27th Moharrem, in which you relate how it came to pass that two Algerines had been arrested and imprisoned by the authorities at Fez, in consequence of their having infringed certain regulations established by the Government regarding the sale of meat, and for having indulged in offensive language when they were brought before the authorities. You point out that, unless Moorish officials have the power to repress offences against the law, there will be an end of all government in the country, and very serious consequences may ensue. You give as an instance of the evil of irregular protection being afforded to Moorish subjects that of Hamoo, the Akkalayan, who was formerly a collector of revenues in the Riff, and had been arrested by orders of the Sultan on account of extortion and other irregularities committed by him, but had subsequently been delivered up to the French Minister at Tangier, at his demand, on account of the claim of a French merchant, and that, when a settlement took place, the French Minister released Hamoo, gave him protection, and sent him back to Riff, where he has been fomenting disorders and rebellion.

With regard to the arrest of the two Algerines, I have learnt with satisfaction that they were released by order of the Sultan, and were delivered up to the French Minister, and that this question has been amicably settled and friendly relations resumed.

I perfectly understand the perplexing position, as described by you, in which Moorish authorities may occasionally be placed, by not having proper power of control over foreign subjects or protected persons who commit offences against the law or police regulations in the interior, where no Consul resides to whose Tribunal, according to Treaty, such cases should be referred; but in the case of the two Algerines I must frankly point out that, after late events respecting the Shereef of Wazan and the steps taken by the Sultan to put down the insurrection in Angera, which, as it was to be expected, had been excessively displeasing to the French Minister, it was rash and most imprudent on the part of the Moorish authorities to give just ground for complaint by the arrest of a French subject, in direct contravention of Treaty stipulations.

You appeal to me, as a friend, for my opinion, and as a friend I have therefore to point out that your proper course, when the Algerines were summoned to the Court in company with other offenders, was, after taking a formal deposition regarding the offences committed by the culprits and of their indecorous language, to have dismissed them from the Court, and to have transmitted at once to the Moorish Minister at Tangier a complaint to be presented to the French Minister, with a request that the offenders be punished for their misconduct, and that they should be required for the future to conform themselves with the established regulations of police. In cases of murder, robbery, or other grave crime, committed by a foreign subject or protected person in the interior, where no Consul resides, I admit that immediate arrest may be necessary; but in such cases the culprits, when arrested, should be sent at once to Tangier, or to the nearest port where a Consul resides, with a proper supply of food, and all harsh treatment should be avoided; and that on delivery over to the Consul, through the Moorish Minister or Governor of the port, evidence of the charges made against the prisoner should be presented.

With regard to Hamoo, the Akkalayan, I consider, according to the narrative you give me and the contents of the letter of the Governor of Akkalaya, that the Sultan has just grounds for complaint that this person should have been liberated and taken under protection by the French Minister, and then sent back to the Riff, where it is declared he has fomented disorders and insurrection.

I regret that I cannot accede to the wish expressed by His Shereefian Majesty that I should take an opportunity of speaking to the French Minister upon this subject, for no beneficial result would be brought about by such a step; but I have communicated to Cid Mahommed Bargash your letter and inclosure, as requested; and he agrees with me in thinking that it is advisable not to bring this complaint under the notice of the French Minister immediately after the settlement of the late differences, but that such a step be deferred for three or four weeks, which will give time to His Shereefian Majesty to send special instructions to Cid Mahommed Bargash after the receipt of this letter.

I cannot suppose, if there be no other motive than that you have assigned, as having caused the French Minister to afford Hamoo protection, in such an irregular

manner contrary to the Madrid Treaty, that the French Government can have authorized M. Ordega to take such a step, and that, under any circumstance, since it is declared Hamoo is fomenting disorders in the Riff, I am led to hope that orders will be given for the withdrawal of protection. Under these circumstances, it would be advisable that Cid Mohammed Bargash, in bringing this complaint under the notice of the French Minister, should do so in a note or Memorandum, and to request M. Ordega to forward it to the Government at Paris. The language employed in asking for justice should be guarded and moderate, accompanied by an expression of the conviction of the Sultan that satisfaction will be afforded by the French Government by the withdrawal of protection from Hamoo.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 190.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received December 11.)

(No. 706.)
My Lord, *Paris, December* 10, 1884.

M. DE BALASCHANO, the Roumanian Minister here, told me this afternoon that he understood that the French Government intended to transfer to Bucharest M. Ordega, now French Minister in Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 191.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 49.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 12, 1884.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris relative to the reported intention of the French Government to transfer M. Ordega from Morocco to Bucharest.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 192.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 50.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 15, 1884.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 107 of the 1st instant, inclosing copy of a letter from the Vizir describing how it came to pass that the two Algerines were arrested by the Moorish Government, and the difficulties with which the Moorish Government has to contend on account of the irregular protection which is extended by foreign Representatives to Moorish subjects; and I have to state to you that your proceedings in the matter, as reported in your above-mentioned despatch, are approved.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 193.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received December 30.)

(No. 730.)
My Lord, *Paris, December* 29, 1884.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 706 of the 10th instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, a Decree appointing M. Ordega, now French Minister at Tangier, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic at Bucharest, in the room of Baron de Ring.

* No. 190.

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I inclose also a Decree appointing M. Féraud, now French Consul-General at Tripoli, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic at Tangier, in the room of M. Ordega.

The "Journal Officiel" of yesterday announced the promotion of Baron de Ring to the rank of Commander in the Order of the Legion of Honour.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 193.

Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of December 29, 1884.

LE Président de la République Française,
Sur la proposition du Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères,

Décrète :

Article 1er. M. Ordega (Ladislas-Symphorien-Joseph), Ministre Plénipotentiaire de première classe à Tanger, est nommé Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la République Française à Bucharest, en remplacement de M. le Baron de Ring.

Art. 2. Le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, est chargé de l'exécution du présent Décret.

Fait à Paris, le 4 Décembre, 1884.

(Signé) JULES GRÉVY.

Par le Président de la République :
Le Président du Conseil,
Ministre des Affaires Étrangères,
(Signé) JULES FERRY.

Le Président de la République Française,
Sur la proposition du Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères,

Décrète :

Article 1er. M. Féraud (Laurent-Charles), Consul-Général de France à Tripoli de Barbarie, est nommé Ministre Plénipotentiaire de deuxième classe.

Art. 2. M. Féraud, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de deuxième classe, est nommé Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la République Française à Tanger, en remplacement de M. Ordega.

Art. 3. Le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, est chargé de l'exécution du présent Décret.

Fait à Paris, le 4 Décembre, 1884.

(Signé) JULES GRÉVY.

Par le Président de la République :
Le Président du Conseil,
Ministre des Affaires Étrangères,
(Signé) JULES FERRY.

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